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VOL. VII OCTOBER, 1928 NO. 10

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THE COMMUNIST

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

Published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Editor*

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VOL. VII OCTOBER, 1928 No. 10

"THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFERS ITSELF" . . 595
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

AMERICA'S FIGHT FOR WORLD HEGEMONY AND THE WAR DANGER 605
JAY LOVESTONE

THE NATIONAL MINERS' UNION— A NEW CONCEPTION OF UNIONISM . . . 622
ARNE SWABECK

AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEMS 628
JOHN PEPPER

LATIN AMERICA AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION 639
BERTRAM D. WOLFE

BOOK REVIEWS 651

SELF-STUDY CORNER 654

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP 656

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BEATRICE CARLIN, *Business Manager*

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VOTE COMMUNIST

For a Workers and Farmers Government

For the Party of the Class Struggle

Against Imperialist War

For the Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union

For President
Wm. Z. Foster
For Vice-President
Ben. Gitlow

Against Capitalism
For Communism

Down with Race Oppression

Vote for the Candidates of the
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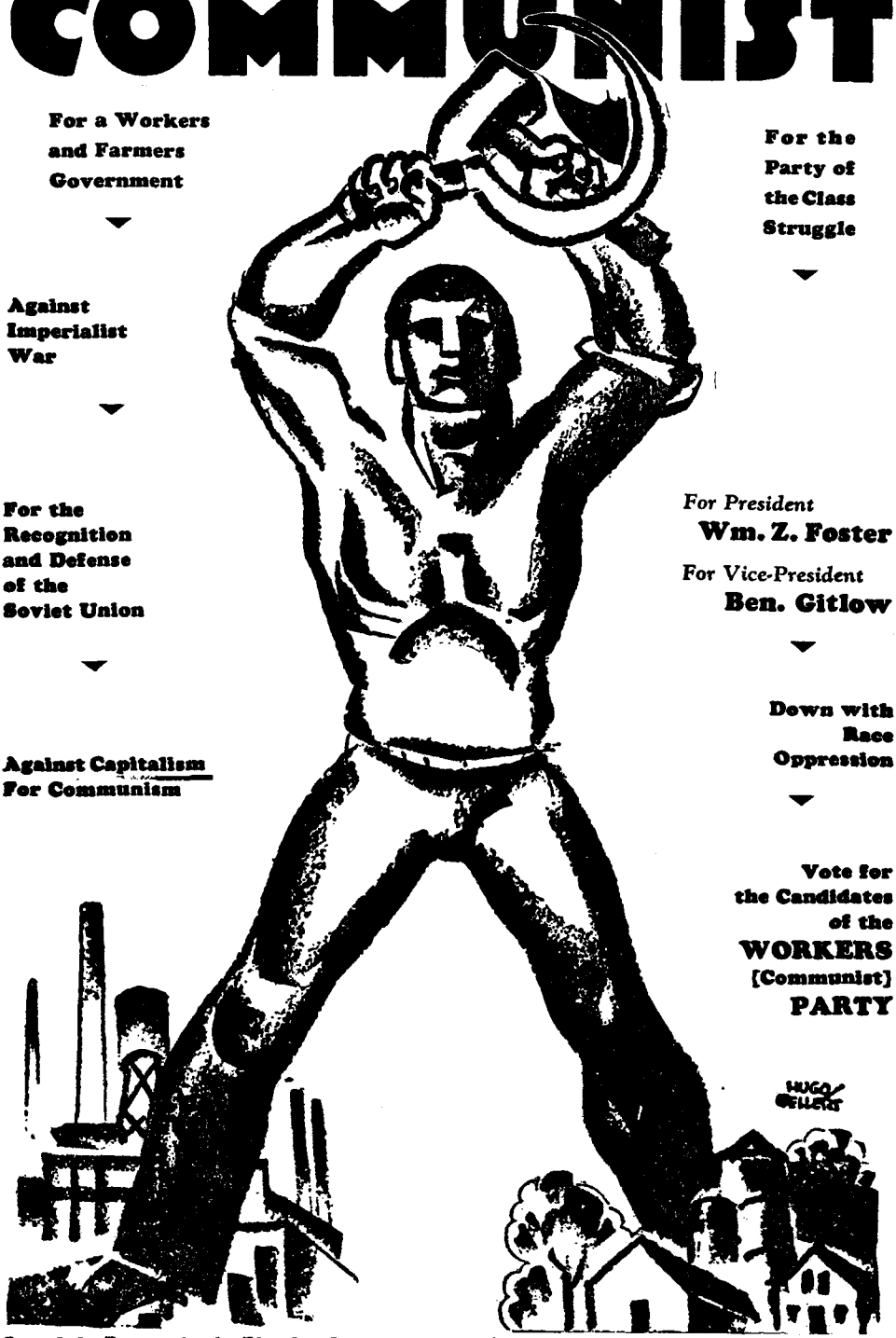
[Communist]
PARTY



One of the Posters in the Election Campaign of the Workers [Communist] Party of America

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"The Socialist Party Offers Itself"

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, "does not use language set in the accepted crusading pattern," says the official 1928 campaign book of the Socialist Party. " 'Proletariat' and 'bourgeoise' are words that rarely appear in his speeches. He has somehow got hold of the idea that farmers in Iowa, and workers in Detroit factories, are a bit uneasy when they are addressed as 'the oppressed masses' . . . He refuses to talk to them about their troubles in the manner of Marx preparing *Das Kapital* in the British Museum in 1867." (W. E. Woodward on Thomas, in *The Intelligent Voter's Guide*, p. 18).

This may be pleasing to Mr. Woodward, a retired millionaire business man, whom it would hardly be fair to class among the oppressed masses. Mr. Woodward does not like the odious term "bourgeoisie," to be sure. He is very happy to state that Mr. Thomas makes no "wordy denunciations" of the *status quo*, and that his speeches to the voters are on "bread-and-butter topics." As a practical man of affairs, Mr. Woodward is certainly justified in praising Mr. Thomas for such campaign activities. Still, if he were less innocent about socialism, if he knew what an all-embracing truth about the Socialist Party he revealed in those few words, he probably would have kept to himself his gushing enthusiasm (which so badly becomes the author of *Bunk*).

The Socialist Party has not only abandoned Marxism; it has repudiated the Communist Manifesto, and thrown overboard the Marxian terminology; it has done more, particularly in this campaign. Throughout the 310 pages of its official campaign book, there is no mention of the miners' strike of 1927-28; there is no mention of the New Bedford strike (outside of one photograph); there is no mention of the collapse of the miners' union under John L. Lewis; there is no mention of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the American workers are unorganized and therefore *incapable* of waging successful struggles against capitalism; there is no mention of the disfranchisement of the Negroes and other race discrimination; there is hardly any mention of the word "capitalism" or of the capitalist system (for which "the owning

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classes" are modestly substituted); there is certainly no mention of the class struggle; there is no mention of the capitalist state. Neither are these things mentioned in the campaign speeches of Messrs. Thomas, Laidler, et al. nor in the other campaign literature of the Socialist Party.

"The Socialist Party offers itself as the political party of the producing classes, the workers in farm, factory, mine or office," says the Socialist platform. This would indicate that the Socialist Party wishes to stand on a proletarian basis. Yet the very title of the campaign handbook, *The Intelligent Voter's Guide*, belies this contention. In a campaign leaflet addressed to the progressive voters, Mr. Thomas says: "Now I content myself with asking them simply as *progressives who fought with LaFollette on his program in 1924* how they can be true to their progressive faith and vote with any other than the socialist ticket in the year 1928." (*An Open Letter to Progressives*). Mr. Thomas knows that the LaFollette campaign was *not* a class campaign. Those who voted for LaFollette voted for a better capitalist system. In persuading the LaFollette progressives to lay aside all scruples and vote for the Socialist Party, Mr. Thomas does *not* ask them to change their political convictions; on the contrary, he assumes that they remain true to their bourgeois "progressive faith." He thus states clearly that there is no difference between LaFolletism in 1924 and S.P.'ism in 1928.

The Socialist Party is completely adapted to this "intelligent" and "progressive" voter. The socialist campaigners have in mind a man who is neither a manipulator of large-scale industry or banking, nor a proletarian in the active sense of the word. This hypothetical "citizen" has a critical attitude towards the "magnates", but he also dislikes the masses. He is incensed by the fact that the trusts and banks dictate the policies of the government, but he would also be offended if he were called "exploited" or "downtrodden." He is ordinarily a man of some (bourgeois) culture, and his ideal is a comfortable bourgeois existence. He is in favor of "progress," "honest government," "decency and sanity in administration" and against "special privilege" and "corruption," but he is decisively against "forcible methods" "mob action" and "sudden changes." He is essentially a man of good manners who is very proud of his reputation and would not stake his "standing in the community" on an act that would displease the respectable and wealthy.

Who is this odd type? His class qualifications are very hazy. He may be a manufacturer, or he may belong to the upper strata

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of the working class. The socialists model their "voter" after their own image: something in between an "enlightened" business man, a union bureaucrat, a lawyer, a preacher, an owner of real-estate, an office worker of the "better type," and a college professor. The socialists assume that there is enough of this kind of "citizen" to make the socialists a "success." They consider this type of "citizen" their particular domain.

The Socialist Party campaign is determined by this hypothetical voter. It is to him that Mr. Thomas says in another leaflet: "Even if it hurts your wealthy friends to be criticized by your vote, vote for the Socialist Party," forgetting that the *actual* workers "in farm, factory, mine, or office, have no "wealthy friends." It is for his benefit that the biographer of Mr. Thomas, in the campaign book, lauds him for helping organize the purely bourgeois-progressive Civil Liberties Union and the Progressive League for Industrial Democracy, for having been an Associate Editor of *The Nation*, for having been the editor of a liberal Christian magazine, *The World Tomorrow*, and for not being given to Marxism and to "windy" denunciation. It is for this fictitious "voter" that Mr. Thomas's services as a preacher are strongly emphasized. It is for this imaginary "progressive" that the official campaign book calls *The Nation*, "that weekly journal in which truth shines candle-like in the darkness;" that among the authors contributing to the campaign book there are a number of liberals who have never had anything to do with the socialist movement; that out of 310 pages, the campaign book devotes less than 100 to topics that have a direct bearing upon the interests of the workers and poor farmers, while the bulk of the book is devoted to a *progressive* criticism of the old parties and their issues. It is for this "voter" that Mr. Thomas addresses himself in his letter of acceptance "to my fellow-citizens" and that a *Times* editorial praising Mr. Maurer is triumphantly quoted (*Campaign Book* p. 74) .

The reward of such an appeal is already apparent. A committee of educators—college professors, among them teachers of religion, was formed to aid the Socialist Party campaign. A committee of ministers of all denominations also appeals "to the nation" on behalf of Thomas.

The main features of the campaign may be grouped as follows:

1. The socialists are unequivocally in favor of the capitalist state. "The socialist is the mainstay of republican and democratic institutions" says the official campaign book (p. 296). By "republican" and "democratic" they do not mean any order of the future, but the existing system of government. Thus the biographer of

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Mr. Maurer, in telling of his participation in a committee that had an interview with Woodrow Wilson, adds boastfully: "It is notable that a number of arguments made by Maurer and his colleagues on that committee were later incorporated by the President in his famous 'fourteen points' and became a part of world diplomacy" (*Campaign Book*, p. 73). It is in *this way* that the socialists illustrate their influence on the "republican and democratic institutions." (It is noteworthy that Mr. Charles Beard in his *Rise of American Civilization* says that the fourteen points were a direct reply to the Soviet peace proposals and framed after their pattern—but of course the socialists wish to know nothing about such revolutionary methods of influencing "democracy.").

The socialists wish to make their voters believe that it is a very easy task to transform this state into an instrument of "real democracy." That is why their platform says that "our alleged democracy" is "*largely* an illusion;"—largely, but not wholly! That is why their platform demands the calling of a constitutional convention to "modernize" the American political system. The "voter" is made to believe that direct election of the President as it is done in Germany and proportional representation (as it is done in Belgium) would do away with the evils of inequality of political influence springing out of inequality of possession. The socialists say so directly in a leaflet entitled *Woman and Politics*: "Social privilege and its twin brother, graft, must be abolished before real social progress can be made." Social privilege must *first* be abolished *before* social progress can be made; in other words, social privilege, according to the socialists, can be abolished by parliamentary means while the *foundation* of social privilege remains. This is a parliamentary illusion that suits and soothes the "progressives."

2. The socialists are openly imperialistic. Their platform demands independence of the Phillipines "on terms agreed upon in negotiations with the Filipinos;" which means retention of U. S. privileges, since "negotiations" between a giant imperialist power and a small colonial people can lead to nothing else. The socialists recognize "that there is some truth in the conventional assertion that American rule in these Caribbean and Central American areas has occasionally improved the material culture and the administrative efficiency of these states." The socialists are in favor of retaining the immigration laws with "modifications"—"to permit the uniting of families and offer a refuge for those fleeing from political or religious persecution!" The socialists are in favor of the League of Nations which, they say, only has to be "democratized." The socialists give their full approval to the Kellogg pact: "Sin-

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cerely meant and properly followed up it will have an impressive psychological weight in world opinion on the side of peoce" says Mr. Thomas in the *New Leader* of August 4th. Here, too, the socialists are breeding dangerous illusions. They wish to create the impression that militarism is *alien* to the nature of the United States ("reform and reorganization in domestic policies are obstructed or denied through the oppressive and *alien system of militarism.*" (*Campaign Book,* p. 277). They wish to create the illusion that the capitalist system can exist without imperialism and that the interference of the United States in other countries is an *abnormality* which can be terminated through democratic efforts. Moreover, they contend that even imperialist *wars* can be averted through "democratic" influences within the framework of the existing capitalist state institutions. "We can avert particular wars while we change the system that breeds wars" says Mr. Thomas in his letter of acceptance. The socialists have outlined a number of demands, like the "abandonment of the policy of intervention" in other countries and the like, but knowing that persuasion alone will not force finance capital to abandon its policy dictated by international economic competition, and indicating *no other way* of fighting the war danger outside of the League of Nations and the Kellogg pact, the socialists actually *lull* the masses into disregarding the significance of imperialism and the threat of new imperialist wars. By doing so they again mean to please the "progressives."

One instance may be cited. The bourgeois historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, who was honored by the socialists with the task of exploiting their international relations program, tries to convince his readers that international competition and the protection of investments in foreign countries need not necessarily go hand in hand. "It is as illogical and indefensible to expect the government of the United States to protect private loans and investments in foreign countries as it would be to propose that the Federal Army or the National Guard of the several states should be called out to collect domestic debts within the boundaries of our country." (*C.B.*,p.267)

The eminent professor forgets that it is the principal task of the army to protect the economic interests of the capitalists "within the boundaries of our country;" that its "domestic debts" are collected through police force *only* is because no armies are necessary for this task and because there is no real line of demarcation between police and army; that, however, when "investments" are threatened by workers' strikes "within the boundaries of our country," the federal and state soldiers are promptly called. The dear pacifist professor spreads illusions both about the nature of the state and the nature

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of international capitalism—illusions that serve to embellish and protect the ugly face of imperialism.

3. The socialists make *water power* their main issue. "Water Power Declared Leading Socialist Issue" says a six-column headline in the *New Leader* of September 1st. Water power occupies the attention of the socialists vastly more than unemployment, or the cutting of wages (which is hardly mentioned) or even militarism and the war. Mr. Thomas has written long tracts about water power in the *New Leader* as if the control of the sources of electric power were more important than the control of iron, steel, building, railroads, etc. The reason for this preference is contained in a leaflet entitled "Drudgery or Electricity" which says: "Lower rates (for electricity) mean labor-saving machinery, less hard work and more leisure for the women in the home." The socialists, by promising low rates for electricity, hope to capture the *middle class women* who stay at home and can afford electrical apparatus to do their work. Another reason for stressing the water power issue is contained in a *New York Times* dispatch from Denver, Colorado, saying: "Governor Smith tonight made water power development a major issue in his western campaign." A third reason is that the small manufacturers using power are very much concerned with the growth of the power monopoly and its fusion with big industry.

4. The socialists make much of "public ownership of natural resources." The latter, they say, should pass into the hands of "public agencies" in order that the consumers be guaranteed against exploitation by the trusts. Public ownership they understand as ownership by the capitalist state. That this is so, may be seen from Mr. Thomas's explanations. "Even in war," Mr. Thomas says, "much public ownership and control does work. . . . Even in our capitalist society government agencies are not all inefficient nor private agencies efficient. As for corruption, it was in the end the government which uncovered the oil scandals and protected the stock-holders who had been robbed in the Continental oil deal, not the other way around." (!) Mr. Thomas has no quarrel with the government as far as management of publicly owned productive forces is concerned. He only forgets that of the two shining examples quoted by the socialists, the Post Office and the management of the railways during the war, one has nothing to do with production of commodities and the other only proved that public management by capitalist states is *a safeguard for capitalist profits*. When natural resources are "publicly managed," the rate of profit for the capitalists (whether former owners or the capitalist government)

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is obviously to be determined by the "public agency," which is an agency of the capitalist state. The executive committee of the trustified capitalist forces is to curb capitalist exploitation. The devil is to be made harmless by his grandmother!

5. The socialists, as far as they appeal to the workers, are spreading innumerable falsehoods which can only have a befuddling influence. In the appeal of their convention "to organized labor" they maintain the long-exploded fiction that "labor," in fighting the employers, wishes to rely on "economic might" alone, i. e., on the force of strikes (this piece of wisdom has been repeated in a special Labor Day supplement to the *New Leader*), and they forget to inform the workers that, so far as the present leadership of "labor" is concerned, *it does not want to fight the employers at all.* They further spread the falsehood that communism and fascism are the same thing ("reaction of the extreme right or the menace of the extreme left"). "In every land where the fascism of the whites or the communism of the reds has reared its head, the Socialist International and its affiliated parties oppose them with all their might" (*Campaign Book*, p. 294). Mr. Thomas wants to make us believe that communism means only "salvation by catastrophe" (a minister always thinks in terms of salvation) hiding from his audience the fact that communism means first of all the *class struggle* in all its phases. The socialists, as usual, make believe that the *ballot* can save humanity from all evils. "No Messiah can save us. We must have our own party," says a leaflet addressed to the farmers. In other words, there is no remedy against social evils but voting for the Socialist Party. "A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for a job" says the official campaign book (p. 213) knowing very well that even a whole Congressful of socialists could not secure a job for everyone as long as the means of production are in the hands of private owners.

The entire socialist campaign is conducted under the slogan: *Peace, Freedom and Plenty*. (This slogan, which is a modification of McKinley's full dinner-pail slogan, is contained once in the platform, twice in the letter of acceptance, once in a leaflet addressed to the farmers, and many times in Thomas' speeches, among them the speech of August 4th in Ulmer Park with which he started his campaign). The socialists wish to make their audience believe that actual peace, actual freedom and plenty for all can be attained under the capitalist system. In this as in all other respects they follow the example of the capitalist parties, adding to the lie of capitalist promises the falsehood of an insignificant group acting as if it had a chance of becoming a leading power in the state.

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The promise of "a vote for the S. P. is a vote for a job" stands out in all its ludicrous falsity in the light of a statement adorning the pages of the official socialist campaign book. The statement by a talkative socialist named Paul Blanshard, a figure in the socialist camp, and one of the editors of *The Nation*, is printed on p. 307 and reads as follows:

> "Since Jehovah is contstantly being thwarted by ungodly Republicans and Democrats, it is not likely that He will decree the people's ownership of land in 2028. As Socialists, therefore, we must be content for the time being with intermediate measures."

The official campaign book admits, though in a jesting form, that the socialists do not believe in the coming of socialism even in a hundred years. Then they come out and tell the people that a vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for a job.

No sadder commentary on their betrayal of socialism could be found. "The Socialist Party offers itself" to anybody who will buy it. It demands nothing but a vote. It has given up in return everything: principles, clarity of vision, truth, reality itself; it has given up connections with the working class.

Space does not permit any exhaustive comparison of the Socialist Party campaign and platform with that of the Workers (Communist) Party. The difference between the former and the latter is the difference between petit-bourgeois pro-capitalist "progressivism" and proletarian class struggle. While no real comparison can be made within the limits of this article, indication of a few characteristics of the communist electoral activity will serve to suggest to the reader the basic difference between the two parties and to make clear the fact that they are really lined up on two opposing sides in the class struggle;—that the Workers (Communist) Party is the leader of the working class and the Socialist Party is one of the enemies of the working class:

1. While the election campaign is being conducted, communists intensively participate in the struggles of the miners, textile workers, needle-trades workers, automobile workers and others; they take responsible parts in building the new unions of the miners, textile workers, cloakmakers, and furriers; they organize relief action for the Chinese workers, etc. They combine activities with the election campaign. They draw no line of demarcation between the various phases of their work. They permeate the workers' everyday struggles with political understanding and political protest. They bring into the political campaign the actual sufferings and

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daily struggles of the working masses whose interests demand the abolition of the capitalist system.

2. "We are not going into the national election campaign solely for the purpose of getting votes," said Comrade Foster in his acceptance speech. "It is of course important that we register the extent of our Party's support in the working class. . . . But we also have other, bigger objectives. Our aim must be *to arouse the class-consciousness of the masses in a political sense and to mobilize them for struggle on all fronts.*" The political campaign proper, the vote-getting activities, are only one part of the general work of mobilizing the working masses, they are one of its facets, inseparable from all the others.

3. The communists do not refrain from struggling for improvements in the life of the masses. On the contrary, they are *leading* in all the struggles that may force the capitalists to concede one or the other reform. They know, however, that such concessions in themselves do not free the workers. "Permanent improvements in the conditions of the workers under capitalism are impossible," said Comrade Foster in his acceptance speech. "The inevitable crisis, born of the contradictions of the capitalist system . . . sweeps away like chaff such reforms." The communists emphasize that the real remedy against the sufferings of the masses is the overthrow of the capitalist system, the establishment of a Soviet system.

4. The communists are untiringly pointing out the *war danger*, and are mobilizing the masses against the imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. This is the center of the communist electoral campaign. "Our Party," said Comrade Gitlow in his acceptance speech, "joins hands with the workers and toilers of all countries in defense of the exploited and toiling masses everywhere, *and we declare that in the event of a war we will utilize the war to mobilize the workers, to mobilize the farmers, to mobilize the masses to make the war the burial-ground of capitalism.*"

5. The Communist Party conducts a working-class campaign in that its literature and its speakers deal with every phase of the class struggle and every class and section of society from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the exploited masses whose leader it is.

6. The Communist Party declares in its election platform that "it constitutes itself not only the party of the working class generally, but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race and especially the organizer of the Negro working-class elements. The Communist Party is the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression. The Communist Party considers it as

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its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color, against the common enemy, against the master class. The Negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and communism means social and racial equality."

It is in the spirit of this quotation from the platform that the Communist Party has put the oppression of the Negro masses by American imperialism in the foreground of its activity.

7. Our candidates are veterans of the labor movement, symbols of the spirit of class struggle, which is the spirit of every activity of the Communist Party. The campaign is not a personal campaign for Foster and Gitlow. Comrade Minor declared in his nominating speech at the National Nominating Convention: "In reality it is not individuals but our Party itself, which is the candidate." It is characteristic of the communist campaign that its slogan is not "Vote for Foster and Gitlow" but "Vote Communist."

8. Our campaign is a campaign of uncovering the economic and political realities, dispelling illusions, enlightening the masses, organizing them, giving them a fighting program, arousing them to revolutionary struggle, and pointing the way towards their liberation.

9. Our platform, entitled "The Platform of the Class Struggle" is a manual for the understanding of present-day America, of its economic structure, its government, its political parties, its class divisions, its internal and foreign policies, the tendencies of its further development, the position of the working masses, workers, poor farmers, foreign-born workers, Negroes, working-class women, youth and children, etc. It is a guide to political education and to political action.

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America's Fight for World Hegemony and the War Danger

By JAY LOVESTONE

The present aggressive role of American imperialism largely grows out of its strength as the dominant world power—a country with a huge world trade and a tremendous capital export.

The key to the policies of the United States imperialists in the world situation today is to be found in its roles as the leading capital exporting country.

America's export of capital can be divided into three main stages: Before the war America was a capital importing country. In the first immediate post-war stage the export of American capital was characterized mainly by its use for the outright crushing of revolutionary proletarian and colonial movements. It was American dollars that were the mainspring of the forces drowning in blood the revolutionary uprising of the working class of Europe.

In the second stage American capital served primarily as a "safety valve." It was employed, in the main, for helping the stabilization of capitalism in Europe.

In the present, or the third period, American capital exports to Europe serve predominantly to strengthen the competitors of Wall Street. This very strengthening of the European capitalist competitors develops conflicts amongst the imperialist powers. The huge export of American capital grows out of the very strength of the North American imperialists, but this very great export of capital serves simultaneously not only as the source of contradictions in American capitalism, not only as the basis of the aggressive imperialist policy, but also as the basis of the increasingly powerful resistance to this policy.

Let no one for a moment think that it means advertising American imperialism when one recounts its still existing strength. We cannot understand the powerful offensive United States capitalism is developing; we cannot grasp in the least its role in the coming imperialist war, unless we are fully aware of its potentialities as well as its contradictions.

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The national wealth of the United States is approximately four hundred billion dollars. American imperialism still controls at least half the world's monetary gold. With only 7% of the world's population, America controls the bulk of the world's resources. For example, 44 out of every 100 tons of coal produced; 70 out of every 100 barrels of oil; 52 out of every 100 tons of steel; 60 out of every 100 bales of cotton; 60 out of every 100 bushels of corn and at least half the railway mileage, copper and pig iron produced in the world are to be found in the United States. Today American industry is characterized by mass production, tremendous accumulation and huge concentration of capital.

The total amount of capital exported by the United States to date is about 25 billion dollars. Over 5 billion have been exported to Latin America, over 4 billion to Europe, nearly 4 billion to Canada, close to 1 billion in the Far East and about one-half billion scattered in Africa, the Near East and elsewhere. The American bourgeoisie receives annually an interest on its exported capital of about one billion dollars. Today no one doubts the fact that America has definitely displaced Great Britain as the world's creditor.

WHY THE HUGE EXPORT OF CAPITAL?

Why is there such a huge export of capital from the United States? The war lent tremendous impetus to the development of production in the United States. First of all there is a surplus plant capacity averaging 26%. In the automobile industry we find a surplus plant capacity of 26%. In agricultural implements it is 39%, etc. Secondly, there is a surplus of credit in the country. Thirdly, the present acute depression. Fourthly, there is a relative shrinkage of the domestic market due to the greater rate of increase in productive efficiency than of the forces making for an increase in the domestic market. Here we must keep in mind the fact that the agrarian crisis which, though somewhat alleviated, still continues acute, has been making for a narrowing of the domestic market.

The huge number of unemployed, in whose ranks are to be found a very large proportion of permanently disemployed, due to the tremendous rationalization, must be taken into account here. Fifthly, the increasing competition in the world market as especially evidenced by the growing international cartel movement in Europe.

What are the effects of the export of capital? What contradictions does this phenomenon develop in American capitalist economy? What does it mean for the workers?

When American imperialism exports capital to China, Italy,

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India or any country which is less developed industrially, it is in a position to dominate the industries of these countries and there to manufacture commodities at lower cost, at lower wages than in America. This very strength of American imperialism which enables the bourgeoisie to have super-profits so as to give a few crumbs to the labor aristocracy, itself develops contradictions. For the bulk of the working class in the imperialist country these contradictions bear the danger of lowering the standard of living, because of the very increase of the export of capital. The reduction of the standard of living and the standard of wages of the working class, or any section of the working class, is determined not by the highest but by the lowest wages which the bourgeoisie can force the workers to accept. Consequently, if the American capitalists through their export of capital to the less industrially developed countries, are able to secure cheaper labor power in European or Asiatic countries, they will either reduce their working forces in America or slash the wages of those working forces at home.

Second, we notice an increasing conflict between finance and industrial capital—for instance the deepening of the differences over the tariff issue now developing new features in the United States.

Third, we have an increasing integration of the state apparatus with big business. This means that the frequency of the working class clashing with the state apparatus, even in its every day struggles and the likelihood of the most elementary economic struggles taking on a political character, are on the increase. Furthermore, the increasing export of capital means increasing aggressive imperialist policy. Increasing aggressive imperialist policy demands sharper, swifter, more decisive action by the ruling class. This explains why the leading organs of the American Government are being dominated by such figures as Dawes, a mid-western big banker; Morrow, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company; Hoover, himself a millionaire, and Mellon, said to be the wealthiest man in the country.

Fourth, the development of a parasitic rentier class.

Fifth, the driving towards a collision of imperialist powers for markets, sources of raw material, capital export possibilities and spheres of influence.

THE AGGRESSIVE ROLE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Formally, America has no big colonial possessions as compared with such imperialist powers as England and France. Still there are one hundred million people living in Latin America and in

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the Pacific possessions of the United States, that are virtually colonial or semi-colonial in their relation to the United States. No continental European country since Napoleon's day has extended its territorial domain in the same proportion as has the United States. American imperialism always boasts of being peace-loving. Yet, it is doubtful whether any of the European imperialist powers have taken by conquest more of their neighbors' land. The hypocrisy and demagogy of American imperialism are immeasurable. When the Yankee imperialists speak of "peaceful penetration" they mean dollar penetration. They boast of the "education" they bring to their colonies. They are proud of the "sanitary systems" they introduce. There is as much truth as jest in the statement that American imperialism has as its emblem the sewer.

Some of the defenders of American imperialism even speak of "painless imperialism." We find Roosevelt, a pioneer in the "Big Stick" policies of Wall Street, thus explaining the robbing of the land for the Panama Canal by the United States:

> "This country (America) made every possible effort to persuade Colombia to allow herself to be benefited.
>
> . . . If I had followed traditional conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably 200 pages to Congress and the debate on it would be going on yet. But I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debating goes on, the Canal does too."

This illustrates the fake humanitarianism, the demagogy and the brutality of American imperialism.

Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama and Santo Domingo are American protectorates. Since the opening of the 20th Century, American imperialism has intervened over thirty times in nine supposed sovereign states. Some of these interventions have lasted for years. In four such supposedly sovereign states there are American customs collectors. American imperialism has its own specific technique in its aggrandizement. Usually it is to manoeuver to put a properly disposed government into power, negotiate with it a treaty which includes a loan guaranteed by customs control or such other revenues and concessions as turn over the wealth of the country to the American companies on the ground. Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama are examples in point.

In Liberia for instance, the Firestone Plantation Company, with the open assistance of the American State Department, is introducing a system of colonial slavery. In Cuba, American investors, supported by the State Department, gave aid and recognition to a government especially notorious for open political assassinations and

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imprisonment of workers. In Chile the American State Department upholds a dictatorship that crushes the labor movement and gives special privileges to American nitrate interests. Thousands of peasants have been robbed of their land in Haiti and the country has been enslaved by means of loans put through by the puppet president Borno, who has helped the murder of thousands of defenseless Haitians by American marines.

This is the "painless imperialism" which serves as the primary financial support for Mussolini and Fascism. Wall Street imperialism is at the same time casting longing glances at Africa and the Far East. Manchuria is already being called, by the self-styled humanitarians of American imperialism, the "Belgium of the Far East."

The Yankee imperialists see Europe in a state of unstable equilibrium. They often call Canada the 49th state. Virtually, Canada, in the financial sense, is an American colony. This is true despite the fact that Canada is a land of rising capitalism and even exports means of production.

DRIVING FORCES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The driving forces for the increasing aggressiveness of American imperialism are:

(1) The fight for new markets for its commodity surplus.
(2) The fight for new markets for its capital surplus.
(3) The fight for sources of raw material, such as rubber, oil, nitrates, etc. For instance, the United States producing 70% of the world's oil, controls only 12% of the world's oil resources.

Ogden L. Mills, Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury Department, thus formulates the present American imperialist policy:

"It is of vital importance, therefore, that our foreign policy should be such as shall not only protect American trade but also contribute to the stabilization of conditions throughout the world. . .

". . . The day of isolation in world affairs is over, nor is there any disposition on our part to seek an aloofness which can never be anything more than imaginary. We do not shirk our responsibility as a world power, but we still retain our rights to define what those responsibilities are and to state under what circumstances we shall use our power and resources." *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*, July, 1928.

American aggressiveness shows itself in Europe, in Asia (the recent manoeuvers with the Nanking Government), in Latin America (crushing of Nicaragua), the vigorous hostility to the Soviet Union (refusal to recognize), sharpening of Anglo-American rela-

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tions (the struggle over the size of the navy, the war debt problem, the struggle over oil and rubber). A frank statement of the whole trend of American imperialist policy is thus given by Capt. Luke McNamee, one of the leading American naval strategists:

> "The time is approaching when our prosperity will depend largely upon the ability to compete in the international market with manufactured goods. History shows that war is but an ultimate form of economic competition. If we are to compete on equal terms we must have a Navy able to protect our trade. 'He who controls the sea controls the world'—that is Mahan's dictum. We do not wish to control the sea but if protection means anything we are willing to fight for the freedom of that sea from the control of anyone.
>
> ". . . I wish to say a word about false propaganda against the Army and Navy. I am repeating no idle rumor when I tell you that much of this propaganda has a sinister foreign source, its object—the overthrow of our government and the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat."

VIGOROUS WAR PREPARATIONS

American imperialism is openly engaged in vigorous war preparations. In his address on Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Day, May 30, 1928, President Coolidge said:

> "Our investments and trade relations are such that it is almost impossible to conceive of any conflict anywhere on earth which would not affect us injuriously. Whether so intended or not, any nations engaging in war would thereby necessarily be engaged in a course prejudicial to us."

And one of the leading aerial experts of the country has said:

> "In my opinion we will never have an opportunity of debating about the next war, because it will come in the air, overnight, and the declaration of war will be ushered in by the dropping of a bomb which will not be preceded by the interchange of diplomatic courtesies as in the past. . . . America's only thought is her self-preservation but she has an awful lot to protect." (*Japan, the Air Menace of the Pacific*, by Lt.-Col. W. Jefferson Davis.)

American war preparations are manifested in seven main ways:

1. *Ideological.* Admirals and generals are touring the country proclaiming that the United States has never been defeated in a war. They are demanding increased military, naval and aerial budgets. Military training schools are being extended. Military training is being introduced into ever larger numbers of educational institutions. Feverish propaganda is being made for the building up of a bigger and more reliable officers corps especially selected from the biggest

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business interests. Position in the standing army is becoming more and more a first-class reference for high business positions. Active hatred of Japan, Great Britain and the Soviet Union is being propagandized. Coolidge is demanding that the press must be 100% loyal to the Government policies, without the slightest criticism or reservations, in foreign affairs, even in pre-war times. The Lindbergh tours through Central and South America were propaganda tours for the increasing military preparations of the United States, with the objective of still greater domination of Latin America.

2. *The pacifist offensive.* The Havana Conference had as one of its principal objectives the mobilization of the reserve forces of Latin-American countries in the event of a clash with European imperialist powers. All this, of course, was done under the guise of boosting peace. We must not overlook the fact that there are eighteen Latin-American countries in the League of Nations. Here we must especially cite the Kellogg Pact.

3. *Military, Naval and Aerial Preparedness.* Uncle Shylock now maintains the largest military and naval forces he has ever had during any time of peace. Within the last six years the United States has expended one-quarter billion dollars for aeroplanes alone. The Caribbean and Latin-American Air Line, today proposed for commercial reasons, are military highways. After the blow-up of the Geneva Naval Limitations Conference, the American Congress proceeded to pass the second biggest naval budget in the history of the country. The Coolidge administration has spent more than 1½ billion dollars on the navy. The total amount spent for armaments by the United States in 1927 is the biggest spent by any country — nearly six hundred million dollars. From 1913 to 1927 the United States increased its military budget by 124%; England by 65%; Italy by 15% and France by 2%.

In 1927, 82 cents out of every dollar spent by the government went towards meeting the expenses of past, present and future wars. The National Defense Act of 1916 lays the basis for immediate mobilization of millions of soldiers, and broadens the basis of the trained nucleus of the conscript army.

Great attention is being paid in the United States to chemical warfare preparations. Recognition of this fact is clearly brought out in a speech recently delivered by Sir James Irvine, principal and vice-chancellor of St. Andrews University of Scotland before the Institute of Chemists of the American Chemical Society, where he said:

> "America can only do the great work she has led in and set out to do by developing a most deadly gas, by creating and maintaining

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an adequate Navy and an adequate system of national defense." (*New York Times*, July 4th, 1928.)

4. *Militarization of Industry and Mechanization of the Military Forces.*

The American war staff is studying the mechanization of the army. An extensive investigation of the mechanization of battlefield forces has been completed by the General Staff of the Army as indicated in an official statement of the General Staff, following in part:

> "These studies indicate that the limit of movement with its companionate principle of surprise may be restored to battlefield tactics by some degree of mechanization. . . . The commercial development in the United States of the automobile would permit a comparatively simple process of change over from peace-time to military requirements in an emergency.

The Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Robbins, has also declared:

> "Science and warfare now go hand in hand. The war of the future will be largely a mechanized affair, a war of machines."

Industry under the National Defense Act is being reorganized with a view towards the swiftest mobilization for operations on a war basis, and for the transformation of the most efficient and biggest factories into centres of war supply production.

5. *The Integration of the State Apparatus with Big Business.* The huge private armies maintained by the big employers and the extension of the executive power of the Government are evidence of the greater efficiency for war that is thus developed.

6. *The Repression of the Workers.* The present offensive against the working class is an integral part of the war preparations of the American bourgeoisie. A national anti-strike law has been prepared by the American Bar Association. This is an organization of the leading finance capital lawyers. This strike-breaking law has already received the sanction of the official leaders of the trade-union movement, Green and Woll of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council. The open-shop offensive is increasing its momentum. Through backdoor methods, definite steps have already been taken to institute the registration of foreign-born workers.

7. *The Extension of the Domination of the World Market.* Here we cite the recent adoption of the Jones Ship Subsidy Bill, the decision to build a new Canal to supplement the Panama Canal, which in less than a decade will be too small for American marine

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traffic and naval effectiveness; the granting of special privileges to American export.

Hoover, who will probably be the next American president, is responsible for getting Congress to appropriate many millions to help the powerful American industrialists fight successfully against monopoly of certain commodities by foreign imperialists. Hoover is an ardent advocate of a Congressional Bill for the encouragement of American trustification with a view of meeting foreign competition. He played a dominant role in the Wall Street fight against British rubber monopoly and is aiming also to secure tax exemption for American investments abroad.

Today the State Department is actively supervising the export of capital with a view of considering "the possible national interests involved." This means the withholding of American capital from such countries and on such occasions where capital might increase the armaments of other powers "at the wrong time," for aiding foreign monopolies (refusal to make a German potash loan), hostility to a government representing another class (Soviet Union).

THE KELLOGG TREATIES

The Kellogg Treaties are part of the pacifist offensive of Wall Street imperialism. These treaties can be characterized in the following manner:

(1) An attack on the League of Nations.
(2) The laying of further emphasis on the United States as the world centre.
(3) Trying to play with and perpetuate divisions among the European imperialist powers.
(4) An answer to and an attack against the disarmament plan of the Soviet Union with a view towards helping isolate the Soviet Union.
(5) A freer hand for an attack against the colonial peoples by the U. S.
(6) Preparation for 1931, when the Washington Conference Agreement shall have expired.

The bluff, cheating and hypocrisy of the Kellogg Treaties are obvious. Secretary of State, Kellogg himself, in commenting on these treaties, has said: "Political questions cannot be arbitrated." These treaties aim to "outlaw" war everywhere except where it is most likely to occur. For instance, these treaties do not apply, in the hypocrisy of self-defense, for the fraudulent Locarno Commitments, for the League Covenant Commitments, for the safeguard-

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ing of certain special Wall Street interests in Latin America, or other imperialist interests in the Near East.

Obviously, while the United States is pretending to be for peace, it is engaged in a war on Nicaragua and is participating in the attack on China.

MAIN POLICIES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The four main policies of American imperialism are:

(1) Isolation.
(2) Monroe Doctrine.
(3) The Open Door.
(4) The Dawes Plan.

These policies are a reflex of the various economic periods in the development of American capitalism. They do not conflict with each other. All of them are still resorted to by American imperialists whenever they find it necessary to use them either jointly or separately. The Dawes Plan, however, marks the highest point of development in the plans of American imperialist domination to date.

1. *Isolation.* This policy was actually in vogue in the very first years of the national independence of the American bourgeoisie. As the American bourgeoisie developed, this policy was applied less and less and served more and more only as a shibboleth to cover up the increasing domination of American imperialism and as a stimulant for propaganda purposes at home in the covering up of aggressive imperialist policies.

2. *The Monroe Doctrine* is a closed door policy, in the first instance against all other imperialist powers in Latin America. Its latest and completest application is evidenced in the invasion and crushing of Nicaragua. The sham of American democracy is forcibly brought home in the provisions for the election laid down by the American imperialists. The United States Marine Captain, McCoy, has veto power and is himself a quorum of the Commission supervising the elections. The most heroic fighters against American imperialism are not permitted to participate in the elections, for they are on the battlefield, giving their lives to drive out the invading forces of Wall Street.

In the course of the development of the Monroe Doctrine, a number of corollaries have been put forth indicating the growing aggressiveness and the increasing domination of American imperialism.

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Let us merely list the eight principal corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine:

(a) No Latin-American State may voluntarily give or sell any territory to any other power except the United States.

(b) The United States is the arbitrator in all ordinary disputes between Latin-American countries themselves or between Latin-American countries and other powers already possessing land on the continent.

(c) No private non-American corporations are permitted to secure harbors or other concessions of this sort.

(d) The United States looks with disfavor upon any economic concessions to European or Asiatic powers.

(e) The United States is authorized to use military and naval forces to settle conflicts within the Latin-American countries.

(f) The United States has the right to intervene on the pretense of preventing the developing of a condition which might demand intervention by European or Asiatic powers.

(g) When a supposed sovereign state of Latin America cannot maintain "order" and "disturbs international obligations," the United States may assume financial and political control of such a state.

(h) What is known as the Coolidge corollary makes Latin America, particularly Central America, an exclusive preserve of American imperialism and turns the Caribbean into "an American lake" or an "American Mediterranean."

3. *The Open Door Policy.* The open door policy formulated by former Secretary of State, John Hay, is a recognition of the fact that American imperialism has entered the Far Eastern field later than other imperialist powers and seeks to secure for itself first of all equality of opportunity for American imperialists, with the sole objective of in time dominating this field also. American imperialists are convinced that the future of China is the key to the future of Japan and America as world imperialist powers. Here the question of the Philippines is also of utmost importance to American imperialism, not only as a tremendous reservoir of raw materials, but also as a primary military and naval base in the Far East.

4. *The Dawes Plan.* The Dawes Plan symbolizes the most complete expression of the exercise of American imperialist hegemony. It gives the American imperialists a virtual mortgage on the resources of Germany. The American imperialists do not look upon the Dawes Plan merely as a plan for Germany, but are suggesting adaptations of it for all countries. A similar plan was once suggested for France, (the Hurley Plan). Such talk is heard also in discussing American imperialist proposals for China.

It is significant that 60% of the German reparations are retrans-

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ferred through the Dawes Plan, as if by a conduit pipe, to Washington. That is why the United States resists all efforts to trim the Dawes Plan. Most of these efforts are based on the fact that the war debt payments to the United States, which are integrally bound up with the Dawes Plan, rise on an ascending scale while the standard Dawes annuity will remain constant after this year.

FIELDS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST CONFLICT

The principal fields of conflict of American imperialism today are the following:

1. *The Anglo-American Conflict.* This conflict today occupies the place in the realm of conflicts among the imperialist powers that the Anglo-German antagonism did prior to the last war. We will merely sketch the sources of conflict between the United States and Great Britain:

(a) The decisive defeat administered to British capitalism in Canada by American capitalism.

(b) The sharp conflict of interests in Latin and Central America.

(c) The beating back of British imperialist interests in the Far East by American imperialism.

(d) The struggle for the mastery of the world's oil resources.

(e) The attempts of Britain to break the virtual American cotton monopoly through its own aggressive plans in Egypt.

(f) The increasing closeness of relations between Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and the United States on the other as a sign of the disintegration of the British Empire.

(g) The conflicts arising out of the debt question.

(h) The conflict for supremacy in the field of the export of capital and over the difficulties growing out of the gold standard in the conditions under which the United States has within its possession at least half of the world's monetary gold.

(i) The extreme suspicion with which Great Britain views the increasing American trade with India which has risen from 162 million dollars in 1913 to over one-half billion dollars in 1927.

(j) The conflict over rubber. America is trying to break the British monopoly through the development of its own plantations in the Philippines and Liberia. In recent months Great Britain has been compelled to give way somewhat to the United States in this field.

(k) The conflict over the mastery of the sea lanes and naval power. When the American Congress passed the Jones Ship Subsidy Bill, the Executive Council of the Shipping Federation of Great Britain declared that "legislation of this character amounts in substance, if not technically, to a breach of comity of nations."

2. *Latin America.* Except for Argentine, Brazil and Chile, the Latin-American countries are virtually protectorates of Uncle

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Shylock. Sharp rebukes greet the slightest attempt of these countries at some measure of genuine independence. As an instance we cite the recent offensive reply of Coolidge to the faint efforts of Porto Rico at securing the slightest measures of relief from American imperialist domination. The total amount of capital invested in Latin America by the United States is over 5.25 billion dollars. The export of capital to Latin America is increasing at a rapid pace and the rate of increase is especially noticeable in countries like Argentine and Brazil, where British capital hitherto had unlimited sway.

3. *The Fight Against the Soviet Union.* American imperialism continues to maintain an energetically hostile policy towards the Soviet Union. Its tactics here are most hypocritical. In order to mislead the masses, among whom there is considerable sentiment for the Soviet Union, the official Government policy pretends to differentiate between the Government of the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union. Similar double-faced propaganda is to be noticed in the cry of the United States State Department that the Comintern and the Soviet Government are one.

The real reason for this hostility is to be found in the fact that nowhere is there brought out so clearly the sharpness of differences in the classes controlling the various Governments today as in the diametrically opposite characters of the classes controlling the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. Here we have the two opposite poles of society today, but the increasing need for new markets and outlets for its surplus capital are bound in time to change, in certain respects, the American Government's attitude towards the Soviet Union.

4. *The Conflict in Europe.* Today the United States imperialists are conducting so-called political flirtations with Germany, in order to prevent or at least to dominate all mergings or alliances of Franco-German capitalist interests. American manoeuvres in Poland and increasing efforts at domination of Polish government finances and industry are aimed at securing additional outposts against England. The whole conflict over debts and the tariff makes for increasingly aggressive participation by the United States in European affairs.

5. *The Conflict in the Pacific.* Yankee imperialists are increasingly looking upon the Pacific as the theatre of the next imperialist war. American naval and military strategy has this as its axiom. Many consider the Philippines as the Achilles Heel of American imperialism in the Pacific. The antagonisms between Japan and the United States dominate this sphere of international

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complications. These antagonisms are sharpening, though the United States has shown itself at all times ready to cooperate energetically with other imperialist powers for the purpose of crushing revolutionary China.

THE ROLE OF REFORMISM

The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is part and parcel of the imperialist apparatus of the United States. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, organized by Gompers, is merely an adjunct of the Pan-American Union, which in turn is an agent of Wall Street for crushing Latin-American countries. The attitude of the trade-union bureaucracy towards foreign relations is determined by the attitude of the State Department. The American Federation of Labor Executive Council issues no declarations on international questions without first having these declarations approved by the State Department.

The Socialist Party is organically bound up with the trade-union bureaucracy. Hillquit, its leader, is a vigorous proponent of the League of Nations. Its presidential candidate, the Rev. Dr. Norman Thomas, in characterizing the Kellogg Pact, has said:

> ". . . The treaties, or rather the treaty, which is submitted to many nations for signature, and the explanatory note, are reasonable and convincing as far as they go.
>
> "If this treaty is generally signed, it will be an important first step towards the abolition of war. So vital is the abolition of war, with its untold possibilities of destruction in our modern world, that we cannot afford to overlook, ignore or reject any step towards peace." (The New Leader, June 30, 1928).

The opposition of the petit-bourgeoisie to the American imperialist war plans is, at best, weak-kneed. Their conduct is treacherous. Senator Borah, their leader, has defended and supported American imperialist invasion of China and the war on Nicaragua. Norris, Shipstead and the other so-called progressive senators, have aided and abetted the imperialist campaigns in China and in Nicaragua in a most shameful manner.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The one source of conscious, vigorous opposition to American imperialism and the imperialist war danger, is the Workers (Communist) Party. The American communists have broken with pacifist errors, though the pacifist danger in the United States in the working class as a whole is very great. In fighting this tendency we have placed our communist position very sharply. Thus the keynote at

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our last election nominating convention was: TURN THE NEXT IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR.

On a limited scale the Party has already made a good beginning in practical anti-war work. Demonstrations have been organized before the New York and Philadelphia Navy Yards on the eve of the sailing of marines for Nicaragua. Sailors and marines in the Boston Navy Yards have been effectively reached with our leaflets. A beginning has also been made in communist activities among the forces on the West Coast, after overcoming the most dangerous pacifist mistakes our Party has made.

Our press is being utilized increasingly among the military forces. We have established a special "servicemen's" and "ex-servicemen's" column in the *Daily Worker*. Our Party has also formulated practical demands for the soldiers. During the war manoeuvers in New York, there was an adequate distribution of leaflets. In all our propaganda work we are emphasizing defeatist slogans. This was particularly to be noticed in the campaign against war in Nicaragua, where we openly called upon the American marines to desert the forces of Wall Street and join the army of Sandino. Our Party has engaged actively in mobilizing sentiment and resources for the victory of the Nicaraguan forces led by Sandino over the American imperialist forces.

Very successful street demonstrations characterized our *Hands Off China* campaign. We consider as a very important section of our anti-war work, the campaign for the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union. Our Party is now working on the development of practical ways of securing the maximum cooperation between ourselves and the Latin-American sections of the Comintern, as well as with the Chinese Communist Party.

Increasing attention is being paid by our Party to the organization of the worker-soldiers who participated in the last world war. We have to take additional necessary steps to set up an effective apparatus for the Party in time of war. Likewise we must learn to tie up more effectively our Negro work with our anti-militarist work. We must emphasize that the successes which we have had in our campaign against the war danger are in a large measure due to the close, vigorous cooperation between the Young Workers (Communist) League and the Party.

The American Communist Party does not look upon the war danger as an abstract question. Among the ways with which we have been fighting pacifism effectively is that of constant propaganda for the Red Army and the popularization of the Red Army among large

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sections of the American working class. The recent election program presents the Party's complete practical proposals in the fight against the imperialist war danger. It follows:

(1) Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy.

(2) Down with the imperialist war against Nicaragua; defeat Wall Street's war in Nicaragua; marines sent to Nicaragua must refuse to fight against the national liberation army. American marines in Nicaragua and China, go over to the side of the Nicaraguan and Chinese revolutions!

(3) Immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Latin America and from the colonies in the Pacific. Immediate withdrawal of United States warships and marines from China.

(4) Complete and immediate independence for all American colonies and semi-colonies.

(5) Hands off Mexico.

(6) Abolition of the regime of the United States customs control, or 'supervision' of finances in Latin America. Withdrawal of support from the puppet governments supervised by United States imperialism such as those of Gomez of Venezuela, Legufa of Peru, and Ibanez of Chile.

(7) Abolition of all extra-territoriality privileges of the United States in South and Central America.

(8) Abolition of the present mercenary army and navy and state militia, and struggle for a toilers' militia; selection of officers by the soldiers and sailors. Full right to vote and hold office for the members of the military forces.

(9) Fight for the abolition of the whole system of infamous imperialist 'peace treaties.' Down with the Dawes Plan! Down with the Kellogg Treaties! Cancellation of all debts of the last imperialist world war. Immediate withdrawal from the World Court and refusal to enter into the League of Nations.

In reference to the campaign for the defense of the Soviet Union, we have advocated:

(1) Defend the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, the champion of the cause of the working class of all countries, against the supporters of the capitalist powers.

(2) Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States Government.

(3) Promotion of trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the granting of sufficient credits by the Federal Government as a means of stimulating American industry for absorbing the unemployed.

(4) Establishment of direct connections between the American and Russian working class.

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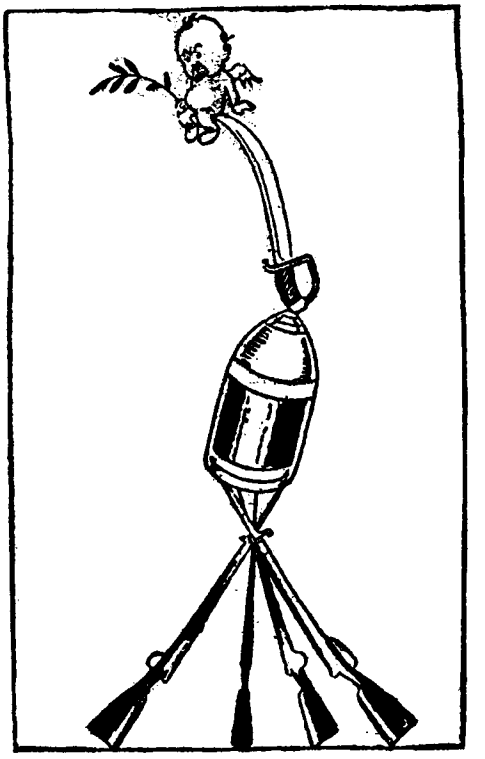
Now that the Sixth Congress has effectively emphasized the need for redoubled anti-war activities, the American Party will serve as an increasingly decisive force in combatting American imperialism and turning the next imperialist war into a civil war.



ETERNAL PEACE
—Izvestiya, Moscow

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The "National Miners' Union" A New Conception of Unionism

By ARNE SWABECK

It can truly be said that the *National Miners' Union* was baptized in the fire of the class struggle. Born in the citadel of the most ruthless union-smashing employers—Pittsburgh—the casualty list on the first day of the convention showed six delegates in the hospital, one seriously injured, many more with broken heads and over 125 in jail. This was the result of a combined attack of paid thugs of the Lewis' bureaucracy and the Pittsburgh police. Among the former were also plenty of broken heads but no arrests. Nevertheless these attacks were repelled and the convention proceeded in another hall, thus completing its main business under the most trying difficulties.

The launching of the *National Miners' Union* marks a historical milestone for the American working class. A beginning, not only of new unions of the unorganized masses, but of an entirely new conception of unionism with a new type of union leadership.

In its declaration of policy, adopted at the convention, the new union definitely rejects class collaboration and goes on record for militant struggle against the employers. It declares itself in categoric opposition to the capitalist parties and in favor of independent working-class political action. It pledges its support to the workers' struggles in other industries and for the organization of the unorganized masses into militant unions. It extends the hand of class solidarity to the workers of the world in the struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation. It is a labor union built on unequivocal recognition of the class struggle and as an instrument of the workers in that struggle.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE UNION GREW

The character of the *National Miners' Union* was predetermined by the conditions under which it came into existence. *It is a product of a period leading toward more sharpened struggles.* It is a result of the increased imperialist pressure upon the workers which has been particularly felt in the mining industry. There the industrial depression has become deep going and the rationalization crisis

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acute. It was made inevitable by the innumerable criminal betrayals by the whole Lewis bureaucracy. The new miners' union is the culmination of the militant, tenacious resistance of the coal miners to the attacks of the operators and their labor lieutenants.

During the post-war period unemployment has shown steady growth in the mine fields, caused mainly by closing of the additional mines developed for the war demand and by the substitution of other fuels. Later the introduction and rapid extension of machine mining swiftly made a permanent phenomenon of the constantly growing army of unemployed coal miners. Loading machines have been installed which in some record cases increase the output per man to almost 500 per cent. One of these monsters installed in a Southern Illinois mine, operated by nine men, holds a record of loading 425 tons in eight hours.

The union officials failed entirely to do anything whatever to protect the interests of the men as the loading machine and other mechanical devices advanced, displacing labor, completely destroying the once existing working conditions and the existing tonnage rate. The number of unemployed coal miners today probably exceeds 300,000. Misery and want stalk the coal fields.

FIGHTING THE TRAITORS

Adding insult to injury came the countless betrayals of the Lewis' bureaucracy at the head of the U. M. W. of A. These atrocious crimes were perpetrated in the face of and in collusion with the operators' onslaught upon the union. The betrayals of the past are well known. The most recent ones are of the most far-reaching consequence. In abandoning the Jacksonville scale the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike was lost and the union in both of these districts finally and definitely destroyed.

In Illinois, the last stronghold of the U. M. W. of A., the subsequent agreement signed reduced that union completely to a company union with a 20 per cent wage cut against which the Illinois miners are now in open revolt. In the unorganized territory of the Fayette County, Pa., coke region, 40,000 miners received an 11 per cent wage cut. In district after district the union has been sold out and annihilated. In some of the thus established unorganized territories wages went as low as $3.20 per day.

All these factors, from their very inception, had a distinct radicalizing effect upon the broad masses of the coal miners. The left wing swiftly gained immense following and was able to build the most dynamic opposition movement witnessed in recent labor history. Both from the so-called organized and from the unorganized fields

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the rank and file coal miners rallied to its support. The movement crystallized rapidly through the April 1st "Save-the-Union" Conference. Its militant struggle to broaden and extend the Pennsylvania and Ohio strikes and to oust the traitors aroused a mighty sentiment. With its further program of a shorter workday, fight for a national agreement, for organization of the unorganized fields and for militant policies the left-wing movement went on until the U. M. W. of A. became so far exterminated that there was no other course open than the building of a new union.

REAL STRUGGLE NOW BEGINNING

The foundation for this new union has now been laid at the Pittsburgh Convention. However, the clash of policies between the left-wing opposition and the right-wing bureaucracy, formerly within the old union, will continue in various forms. There will still be clashes between the same forces but they will be part of the general struggle to build the new union. The operators still determined to wipe out all semblance of unionism and establish "open shop" conditions will certainly use the Lewis machine and their company union in every way possible to prevent the building of the new militant union.

The government, pursuing the imperialist aims of Wall Street, has been in the past, in every mine locality, an active third force in joint collaboration with the others opposing the new union movement. It will in the future maintain that role. Where, in the past, the courts, the police and national guard have been mobilized against the militant strike activities of the left wing and against extension of the Pennsylvania and Ohio strikes, they will in the future, jointly with the operators and with the remnants of the Lewis' machine, desperately oppose the building of the *National Miners' Union.*

GREAT TASKS AHEAD

The obstacles in the way of the full and complete development of this working-class union are thus very great. The forces opposing it are formidable. Yet the objective conditions are now and will become increasingly favorable for its development. The miners in the unorganized fields are eager for organization. The continued existence of the company union of John L. Lewis can be maintained only by further sell-outs to the operators. This company union can hold out no hope for the miners. That the operators will continue the attacks to further reduce the present low standard of wages and increase their own profits is quite inevitable; but this

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additional pressure will serve first of all to further solidify the ranks of the miners and make the new union more essential. The militant tradition of the coal miners; their understanding of and deep devotion to the cause of a fighting organization is a good guarantee for future success.

Immense are also the tasks of the *National Miners' Union*. First, to make the complete change away from surrender, away from class collaboration toward class struggle. Secondly, to organize all the coal fields, and restore the nationally fighting unit. To organize all the Negro miners and draw them into full participation and co-leadership of the union. Thirdly, to restore union conditions, to enforce regulations to protect the miners in the operation of loading machines and mechanical devices, as well as making an extensive fight to secure relief for the many thousands of unemployed in the industry. Fourthly, to become a real factor in assisting the workers everywhere in their struggles and to help organize new unions in the unorganized industries.

These are but some tasks enumerated, the solution of which will help inaugurate a new era for the American working class in which it can face the real enemy more conscious of its true destiny. In its convention declarations the *National Miners' Union* made perfectly clear that no matter how great the difficulties, it will bend all efforts to begin its work in earnest.

ROLE OF OUR PARTY

It is no longer disputed that our Party plays a very definite role in working-class movements of this character. Many efforts have already been made by reactionaries to give the *National Miners' Union* a communist label, hoping on that basis to frighten the rank and file away. In this they have been unsuccessful. First, because the movement for the new union made clear long ago that it would be an organization of coal miners, embracing all workers employed in and around the mines, excluding bosses. Secondly, because communism or the active participation of communists can no longer be used to frighten these workers. Our Party has participated very actively indeed in guiding the policies as well as doing the hard Jimmy Higgins' work to build the movement through the functioning of our members within the organization. Members of the Communist Party in every working-class organization and movement carry out the policies of the Party. And so here, in this respect, the Workers (Communist) Party has fulfilled its historical role. The continuation of that is, of course, the best guarantee for the future success of the Union.

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This is the first concrete proof of our new orientation toward the building of new unions of the unorganized masses of workers. The new *National Miners' Union* has nothing in common with the theory or practice of dual unionism. It is forming in an industry where the old union is either extinct or existing through the policies of its reactionary leadership, as a company union. It is new not only in organization but also in conception. Distinct from the old type of moribund craft union being turned into instruments of class collaboration; distinct in that the new union accepts the principle of the class struggle as its basis.

Other new unions of this type will follow. Such are already in the making in the textile industry, and within the needle trades. Wherever the old type of existing unions has become an obstacle to the organization of the masses of workers in the industry, new unions will be built over the heads of these obstacles. In the industries entirely unorganized, as well, new unions must be built as class organs of the workers. This is the further task of our Party.

SOME IMPORTANT LESSONS

The movement for the building of the new miners' union, while still very young, already holds a number of important lessons for our Party.

We have not succeeded in making sufficiently clear to the miners the Party's role in this movement, nor have we won the full organizational benefits for our Party. In future struggles, we must learn to keep constantly in mind at every phase of the struggle the problem of recruiting new members into the Party. It strengthens both the particular struggle we are engaged in and the work of the Party as a whole. We must also learn better how to assimilate new recruits into the Party and keep new units functioning actively. Special efforts must be made in this direction in connection with those recruited during the miners' struggle.

In future mass struggles, we must learn to organize our relief machinery at the very beginning of the struggle, without waiting until the problem of relief becomes a pressing one. The miners' struggle has also taught us the value and necessity of drawing up perspectives for as long a period as possible, and checking and revising them at every stage of the struggle.

Different sections of the miners awoke at different periods to the nature of the struggle in which they were engaged. The Party experienced many difficulties as a result and the movement manifested many organizational and political weaknesses for this reason.

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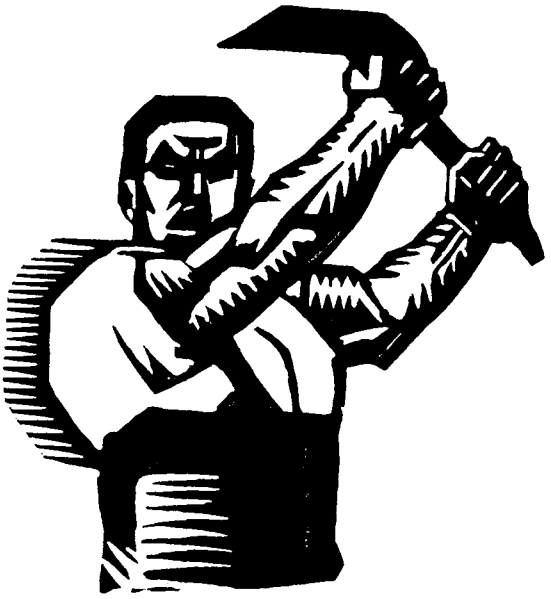
These, however, are undoubtedly being overcome as the movement becomes more homogeneous and the various sections accumulate experiences which clarify their understanding of the nature of the conflict. Despite all shortcomings, and what is more important, despite the many enormous obstacles, this movement has already made history, and holds real hope for the future.

To our Party, the *National Miners' Union* should mean real aid in the class struggle. It should be of importance to our general campaigns. The movement has already been so in the past—for example, in facilitating the entering of communist candidates on the ballot in several mining states. It must become a source of strength to our Party; for only by actively building our Party can the successful building of new unions be accomplished.



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American Negro Problems

By JOHN PEPPER

The Negro question in America must be treated in its relation to the liberation struggle of the proletariat against American imperialism. *The struggle against white oppression of the Negro masses is a part of the proletarian revolution in America against capitalism.* The American working class cannot free itself from capitalist exploitation without freeing the Negro race from white oppression. What Marx said about the United States is still true: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

At the same time the Negro question in the United States of America must be treated in its relations to the huge Negro masses of farmers and workers oppressed and exploited by white imperialism in Africa and South America. The Negroes of the United States are the most advanced section of the Negro population of the world and can play a decisive role in helping and leading the liberation movement of the Negro colonies. Within the Negro population of the United States, the *Negro working class* is destined to be the vanguard of all liberation movements and may become the vanguard of the liberation movement of the Negro peasant masses on an international scale.

A NEGRO PROLETARIAT APPEARS

The industrialization of the agrarian south of the United States, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the east and north, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, have been changing, in the last few years, the whole social composition of the Negro race in America. *The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the Negro race,* furnishes a new working-class leadership to all Negro race movements, creates the possibility for the Negro workers under the leadership of the Communist Party to assume the hegemony of the Negro liberation movement, strengthens immensely the fighting possibilities for the emancipation of the Negro race and increases the importance of the Negro question for the revolutionary struggle of the American proletariat.

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American imperialism oppresses in the most terrific way the nearly 11 million Negroes who constitute not less than one-tenth of the country's total population. White capitalist prejudice considers the Negro race a "lower race," the born servants of the lofty white masters. *The racial caste system is a fundamental feature of the social, industrial and political organization of the United States.*

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, in its fight against imperialism, must recognize clearly the tremendous revolutionary possibilities of the liberation movement of the Negro people. Today the "solid south," the millions of Negro farmers of the "black belt," living under the most oppressive conditions, "half-feudal, half-slave" (Lenin) constitute one of the props of American imperialism. It is the basic duty of the Communist Party to develop all revolutionary possibilities of the Negro race, to transform the "solid south" and the "black belt" from "reserves of forces for the bourgeoisie into reserves of forces for the proletariat" (Stalin). *The Communist Party must consider itself not only the Party of the working class generally, but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race and especially the organizer of the Negro working-class elements.* The Communist Party cannot be a real Bolshevik Party without being also the Party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.

THE SOLID SOUTH—AN AMERICAN COLONY

The Negro tenant farmers, share-croppers, and agricultural workers of the south are still, despite all the pompous phrases of "freeing the slaves," in the status of virtual slavery. They have not the slightest prospect of ever acquiring possession of the land on which they work. By means of a usurious credit system they are chained to the plantation owners as firmly as plantation slaves. Peonage and contract labor are the fate of the Negro cotton farmers. The bankers of the east and the south are increasingly becoming the landowners. The *landowners*, who are at the same time the *merchants*, having a monopoly of marketing the crops of the Negro tenant farmers, and of the *government* in the south, rule over the Negroes with a merciless dictatorship.

The most backward half-feudal, half-slave methods of exploitation by the plantation owners, are merged in the south with the most modern forms of capitalist exploitation by the huge trusts and banks of financial capital. No other section of the American toiling masses feels the ruthless capitalist dictatorship of the much-vaunted American bourgeois democracy more than the oppressed Negro masses. The Negroes of the south are disfranchised politically.

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Sheer force prevents the Negroes from exercising their so-called political rights. Lynch law is the law over the Negroes. The terror of the Ku Klux Klan is the constitution for the Negroes. Most infamous segregation policies prevail everywhere against them. The white masters try to reduce the Negroes to illiteracy.

The "black belt" of the south, with its starving and pauperized Negro farmers, and Negro agricultural working masses; with its Jim-Crowism, its semi-feudal status and its political system still bearing the earmarks of the period of slavery, *constitutes virtually a colony within the body of the United States of America.* The super-profits extracted from this Negro "colony" are one of the most important sources of the growth of American imperialism; the oppression of the Negro race is one of the most important bases of the government apparatus of American capitalism. The prejudices created in the minds of large sections of the white workers against the Negroes are the most dangerous obstacles to the unity of the American working class.

CLASS DIFFERENTIATION OF THE NEGROES

A sharp class differentiation has taken place in the Negro population in recent years. Formerly the Negro was in the main the cotton farmer in the south and the domestic help in the north. The peasantry (the Negro farm owners, the share-croppers, the Negro tenant farmers) and the agricultural workers are still the largest stratum of the Negro race. Out of eight million Negroes in the south, there are six million still on the land. In the big cities and industrial centres of the north there is concentrated to a growing degree a Negro working-class population. There are already one and one-half to two million Negroes in industry in the north. At the same time there is a rapid development of a Negro petit-bourgeoisie, a Negro intelligentsia and even a *Negro bourgeoisie.* The very fact of segregation of the Negro masses creates the basis for the development of a stratum of small merchants, lawyers, physicians, preachers, brokers, who try to attract the Negro workers and farmers as consumers. There is no Negro *industrial* bourgeoisie. Predominance of white trusts restricts the young and weak Negro bourgeoisie to the fields of trade and second-rate banking.

It would be a major mistake to overlook the existence of class differences among the Negroes, especially the crystallization of a Negro bourgeoisie. There were in 1924, 73 Negro banks, carrying an annual volume of business of over 100,000,000 dollars. There are 25 Negro insurance companies; 14 of these have assets totalling 6,000,000 dollars and during 1926 alone paid over 3,000,000 dol-

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lars in claims. *This Negro bourgeoisie is closely tied up with the white bourgeoisie; is often the agent of the white capitalists.* Economically the Negro banks are often part of the Federal Reserve System of banking.

Politically the Negro bourgeoisie is participating, to a growing degree, in the so-called "commissions for inter-racial cooperation." These committees exist in eight hundred counties of the south and are spreading all through the "black belt." Today the ideological and organizational bearer of the national racial movement of the Negroes is not the bourgeoisie but the intelligentsia and petit-bourgeoisie.

PROLETARIANIZATION AND PAUPERIZATION OF THE NEGRO FARMER

There is a growing process of disintegration going on among the Negro farmers. Ever larger sections are transformed into agricultural workers (2,000,000) and hundreds of thousands of Negro farmers and agricultural workers desert their lands and migrate to the big cities and industrial centres. This migration is not only to the industrial centres and big cities of the east and north, but also to the rising industrial centres of the south. There is even migration from the plantations to the villages of the south where there is today a non-agrarian Negro population of about two millions.

Lenin pointed out back in 1913, as one of the foremost characteristics of the southern rural areas, the fact that "*its population is deserting it.*" The disintegration of the Negro peasantry means partly *proletarianization* of the Negro share-croppers,[1] partly *pauperization* of the Negro masses. In the past the south has had a stratum of "poor whites"; today it begins to develop a new stratum of "poor blacks" also—driven completely outside the process of production.

The southern plantation owners and their government have tried to hold the Negro farmers and agricultural workers in the southern cotton fields by force, but even their brutal terror has not been able to stop the mighty migration from the cotton plantations to the industrial centres. *This migration is an "unarmed Spartacist uprising" against slavery and oppression by a capitalist and feudal oligarchy.* The Negro has fled from the south, but what has he found in the north? He has found in the company towns and industrial centres of the north and east a wage slavery virtually not better than the contract slavery in the south. He has found

[1]"A cropper is a tenant who works the land for his landlord without sup-

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crowded, unsanitary slums. He has exchanged the old segregation for a new segregation in the worst sections of the cities. He is doing the most dangerous, worst-paid, unskilled work in the steel, coal and packing industries. *He has found the racial prejudice of a narrow white labor aristocracy* which refuses to recognize the unskilled Negro worker as its equal. He has found the treachery of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., which refuses to organize the Negro workers into trade unions; he has found betrayal by the renegade Socialist Party which capitulated completely to white chauvinism. The lynchings of the south have their counterpart in the race riots of the East. The employing class deliberately arouses the racial hatred and prejudices of the white workers against the Negro workers with the sinister aim of splitting and dividing the ranks of the working class, thereby maintaining the exploitation and oppression of both the white and Negro workers.

THE SLOGAN OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Workers (Communist) Party of America puts forward correctly as its central slogan: *Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, social and political equality for the Negro people.* But it is necessary to supplement the struggle for the full racial, social and political equality of the Negroes with a struggle for their right of national self-determination. Self-determination means the right to establish their own state, to erect their own government, if they choose to do so. *In the economic and social conditions and class relations of the Negro people there are increasing forces which serve as a basis for the development of a Negro nation (a compact mass of farmers on a contiguous territory, semi-feudal conditions, complete segregation, common traditions of slavery, the development of distinct classes and economic ties, etc., etc.).* It is true, the Negro people in the United States have not their own language as distinct from the language of the oppressing white nation; but there is a certain amount of special

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plying any of the working capital, *but he might almost as well be regarded as a laborer who accepts a share of the crop as his wages.* . . . The payment for their services in the form of a share of production rather than in the form of a stated weekly or a monthly wage is the part of a plan whereby the landlord is able to insure himself of their continued services throughout the season. . . . In other words, *while tenancy in theory represents merely a method of holding possession of the land, in practice it sometimes works out into a method of obtaining laborers to work on the land.*" Goldweiser and Truesdell; "*Farm Tenancy in the United States.*" Census Monographs IV. Washington, 1927).

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Negro culture; there is still alive the common, deep-rooted tradition of the bitter centuries of slavery; there is developing a new Negro literature and press.

First of all, we must consider the compact Negro farming masses of the "black belt" as the potential basis for a national liberation movement of the Negroes and as the basis for the realization of the right of self-determination of a Negro state. Despite growing migration to the north, in 1920 there were still over 3,000,000 Negroes who constituted a majority of the population in 219 counties over a contiguous area in the "black belt." There are many national movements of the Negro city petit-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. The fact that the most important mass movement of this kind, the Garvey movement, was a sort of Negro Zionism and had such reactionary, extremely harmful slogans as leaving the United States and back to Africa, should not blind us to the revolutionary possibilities of the Negro national liberation movements of the future. It is unquestionable that first of all the Negro farmers can be the basis of a Negro national liberation movement of the future, despite the fact that today the Negro farming masses of the south are so oppressed that they do not yet show any signs of national awakening.

The Negro national liberation movement has tremendous revolutionary potentialities, despite the fact that at the outset its bearer will likely be the rural and urban petit-bourgeoisie. Lenin has stated: "There can be no doubt that all nationalist movements cannot be but bourgeois-democratic movements." But the knowledge of this fact did not prevent Lenin and the C. I. from recognizing the tremendous unexhausted revolutionary possibilities of the national liberation movement of the colonies and oppressed nations and races generally. *As the national liberation movement grows, the Negro proletariat will play an increasing role in it and will struggle for the hegemony over it.* There is a certain amount of assimilation going on among the Negro industrial workers in the north and east. The Negro worker works shoulder to shoulder with the white worker in the factories and plants, but at the same time it is necessary to recognize that there is practically no social contact between these workers. *The social and residential segregation of the Negro workers in the north is complete and manifests an increasing tendency.* Veritable Negro cities are being created in Harlem, New York, and on the south side of Chicago. This segregation of the Negro working class creates an economic basis for the development of a Negro petit-bourgeoisie even in the north

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and east, which loads additional exploitation onto the backs of the Negro workers and as a result of this distinct development, strengthens the basis of the Negro national movement in the north and east.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of national self-determination for the Negroes, but at the same time the Communist Party must state sharply that the realization of this self-determination cannot be secured under the present relations of power under capitalism. National self-determination for the Negro is a bourgeois-democratic demand but it can be realized only in the course of the proletarian revolution. The abolition of the half-feudal, half-slave remnants in the south will also be only "a by-product" (Lenin) of the general proletarian revolution. *It would be a major mistake to believe that there can be any other revolution in imperialist America, in the country of the most powerful, most centralized and concentrated industry, than a proletarian revolution.*

The Communist Party of America must recognize the right of national self-determination for the Negroes and must respect their own decision about the form of the realization of this self-determination. The *Negro* Communists should emphasize in their propaganda *the establishment of a Negro Soviet Republic.*

AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

Not only the labor aristocracy but large sections of the American working class as a whole are permeated with *white chauvinism.* White chauvinism reflects itself in various forms even in some sections of the Communist Party itself. Individual comrades and even some local organizations have yielded occasionally to the racial prejudices of the white workers and retreated, instead of waging a courageous struggle against it. (Gary, Detroit, St. Paul, Harlem). The C. E. C. of the Communist Party of America stated in its resolution of April 30th that "the Party as a whole has not sufficiently realized the significance of work among the Negroes and that the work among the Negroes should be considered not as a special task of the Negro comrades, but as one of the special revolutionary tasks of every communist, of the whole Party."

It is imperative to begin outside and inside the Communist Party a relentless campaign of self-criticism concerning the work among Negroes. All signs of white chauvinism must be ruthlessly uprooted from within the ranks of the Communist Party. In this aggres-

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sive fight against white chauvinism, the Party must carry on a widespread and thorough educational campaign within the Party, utilizing for this purpose to the fullest possible extent, the Party schools, the Party press and the public platform to stamp out all forms of antagonism or even indifference among our white comrades towards the Negro work. This educational work should be conducted simultaneously with broad campaigns to draw the white workers and the poor white farmers into the struggle for the support of the demands of the Negro workers and tenant farmers.

The struggle against white chauvinism must be combined with the struggle for genuine internationalism in the ranks of the working class and in the ranks of the Communist Party. The Communist Party of America must emphasize in all its campaigns the solidarity of the white and black workers. In the ranks of the Communist Party there can be no place for nationalism. The Communist Party must be the Party of internationalism.

TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN NEGRO WORK

The appearance of a Negro industrial proletariat on a growing national mass scale makes it imperative that the main emphasis of the Party work should be placed on these new proletarian forces. The Negro workers must be organized under the leadership of the Communist Party and drawn into joint struggle, together with the white workers. The Party must understand how to link up all racial, national demands of the Negroes with the economic and political struggles of the workers and poor farmers. Much more emphasis than before must be laid on the trade-union organization of the Negroes. The Party must penetrate all existing Negro trade unions. It is a basic task of the Communist Party to organize the Negroes into trade unions. In all the work of organizing the unorganized carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party, we must insist upon the inclusion of Negro workers with white workers in the newly organized trade unions. In the existing trade unions, the Party must fight for the admittance of Negro workers. Where the labor bureaucracy refuses to admit Negroes, it is the duty of the Communist Party to organize Negro trade unions. At the same time the principle of one union for each industry, embracing white as well as Negro workers, should be the aim of the Communist Party.

The importance of trade-union work imposes special tasks upon the T. U. E. L. The T. U. E. L. has neglected the work among the Negroes, notwithstanding the fact that these workers are objectively in a position to play a very big part in carrying through

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the programme of organizing the unorganized. Greater contact must be established between the T. U. E. L. and the Negro masses. The T. U. E. L. must become the champion of the rights of the Negroes in the old unions and in the organizing of new unions for both Negroes and whites, as well as separate Negro unions.

It is one of the biggest tasks of the Workers Party to extend its activities to the "Solid South," the beginning of which has been made in the election campaign. The Party was not able to carry on any work among the Negro farmers and agricultural workers of the "black belt." It is the duty of the Party to study and analyze the conditions of the Negro farming masses, to work out demands to meet their situation, *to organize special Negro farmers' organizations as well as organizations of the agricultural workers.* It is necessary that the Party should establish new district organizations in the south, especially in the most important industrial centres. The Party organizations in these industral centers of the south should be the bearers of the educational and organizing work of the Party among the Negro farmers and agricultural workers.

The fight against segregation, lynching, and political disfranchisement of the Negroes, must be organized. *It is necessary to help the Negro masses to organize themselves for active resistance and self-defense against the lynching terror of the Ku Klux Klan* and similar terroristic gangs of the white bourgeoisie. The I. L. D. which so far has almost completely neglected work amongst the Negro masses, must hereafter put in the forefront of its propaganda, agitation and activities, energetic campaigns against lynching and juridical oppression of the Negroes.

The communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character. The existing national organizations and movements of the Negroes are today under the domination of the Negro petit-bourgoisie and even their bourgeoisie. *The aim of the Communist Party must be to fight for the hegemony of the working-class elements in the national liberation movement.* The basic task of the communists is to form working-class organizations for the Negro proletariat and agricultural workers, and farmers' organizations for the Negro farmers and to turn these organizations into energetic integral forces of the whole class struggle. The communists must not forget for a moment that *the struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes includes the relentless struggle against the Negro bourgeoisie and the struggle against the influence of the petit-bourgeoisie over the Negro proletariat.* It is permissible to form a united front (for

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example in the form of a Negro Race Congress) of the working-class elements with the petit-bourgeois elements. The policy of the communists within this united front must be:

(a) To free the working class from the ideological and organizational influence of the petit-bourgeois elements.

(b) To begin the struggle for the leadership of the working class.

The communists must bear in mind that the alliance of the Negro working class with the Negro petit-bourgeoisie can be maintained only under the following conditions:

(a) A revolutionary fight of the petit-bourgeoisie for Negro race demands against American imperialism.

(b) No obstacles by the petit-bourgeoisie against the special class demands and organizations of the Negro workers and exploited farmers.

The communists must under no circumstances merge their organization with the petit-bourgeois organizations and must reserve for themselves fullest rights of criticism and propaganda.

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activized. The communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an *intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the* Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership. After careful preparatory work which must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held. For this convention a carefully worked-out program should be prepared. The program should contain not only demands of the workers, but also the agrarian demands of the Negro farmers and agricultural workers of the south.

The Negro miners' relief committee and the Harlem Tenants League are examples of united front organizations which may be set up as a means of drawing the Negro masses into struggle. But these organizations can be considered only as a beginning. The communists working within these organizations should try to broaden them, and similar committees should be organized in other Negro centers. In every case the utmost effort must be made to combine the struggle of the Negro workers with that of white workers and to draw the white workers' organizations into such united-front campaigns.

One of the greatest shortcomings of the work of the American Party among the Negroes is the lack of sufficient Party cadres among the Negro comrades. The next and most important task of the Party in this respect is the selection and education of a cadre of

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Negro communist workers. The proletarian character of the Negro Party leadership must be brought forward more clearly than before. At the same time the proletarian Negro intellectuals must be utilized to the full. It is imperative to utilize all Party schools in the U. S. A. and abroad to train Negro comrades as leaders. Negro comrades should be trained for special work among the Negro farming masses.

The activities of the Negro comrades should not be confined exclusively to the work among the Negroes, but they should participate in the general Party work. Simultaneously white comrades must be specially trained for work among the Negroes. *The Negro Champion* must be published regularly. Every effort must be made to develop it into the mass organ of the Negro workers and working farmers. The general Party press must be utilized to its full extent for propaganda among the Negroes. A regular Negro news service must be built. *The utmost effort must be made to attract Negro workers and Negro agricultural laborers as members into the Communist Party.* The present Negro membership of the Communist Party is inadequate to fulfill the great tasks before it. A special recruiting campaign for Negro workers should be initiated in connection with the general economic and political campaigns of the Party. In the present election campaign, wherever possible Negro communist candidates should be nominated in the important Negro centers.

The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the general international Negro problem. The question of a Negro World Congress should be considered but it can be realized only if a Negro working-class leadership in the Congress can be secured. One aim and purpose of the work among the Negroes in the U. S. A. should be to organize them as the champions of the Negroes all over the world, against imperialism. A strong Negro movement in the U. S. A. will be able to influence and direct the Negro movement in all those backward parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by the various imperialist powers.

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Latin America and the Colonial Question

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

[We print below an extract from the speech of Comrade Wolfe on the colonial question at the 6th World Congress of the Communist International. In subsequent issues other speeches on this important question will be printed. The discussion on the so-called "decolonization" theory was one of the most important and fundamental discussions of the World Congress. The special application to Latin America of the greater portion of this speech makes it especially valuable for the American reader.—THE COMMUNIST.]

. . . . On the question of "decolonization": The complexity of the subject and the impossibility of treating it in detail within a short time make it necessary for me to limit myself to the most general and compact statement of viewpoint possible. We must at least take into account the following basic features of capitalist colonial development:

1. There exists a general tendency of capitalism to draw the entire world into the train of capitalist production, to destroy the earlier forms of economy and to introduce capitalist conditions throughout the world.

2. This tendency is undoubtedly strengthened by the export of capital.

3. To bring the whole world into the orbit of the capitalist system, however, does not necessarily mean that all sections of it need be industrialized. Capitalist market relations, plus imperialist rule, plus capitalist agricultural relations would also satisfy this tendency. *The essential, the basic industrialization in a country is the development of those industries which produce industries, those industries which produce means of production.*

4. In addition to this basic general tendency towards the development of capitalism throughout the world, imperialism expresses a direct counter-tendency; namely, to intensify the parasitic exploitation and the restrictions upon the development of the backward portions of the world.

5. There have been two periods in the development of modern economy when this restrictive tendency was dominant. These periods were the period of early monopoly out of which modern capi-

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talism grew, the period of "mercantilist" theory and "mercantilist" policy in regard to the colonies; and then the period of modern monopoly, the period of monopoly on the basis of finance capital, the export of capital and trustification.

6. While the industrialization and the production of capitalist conditions in the backward nations is growing in an absolute sense of quantity, of the quantity of industry that we find in the world, still in a relative sense and in a sense of discovering the basic tendency of capitalism — the parasitic restrictive aspect of imperialism is the dominant one.

7. The so-called "decolonization" tendency of capitalism is to such an extent counteracted by the parasitic restrictive tendency of imperialism that we even witness a tendency towards *RECOLONIZATION;* or, better, towards *colonization* in the sense of reducing previously independent regions of the world, some of them with comparatively developed capitalist conditions, to the status of semi-colonies. We have had, in the post-war period, the growth of a whole series of such new semi-colonies where there was no question of colonial status before. Even industrially developed countries, in some cases, come for shorter or longer periods under the control of first-rate powers to such an extent as to assume certain features of semi-colonial status.

8. Of the two tendencies, that is of the tendency to further the industrial development of the backward portions of the world and the counter-tendency to hinder, restrict, and prevent this industrial development, the latter is undoubtedly dominant. The fundamental in this period of monopoly, in this period of finance capital and capital export, is not, as Comrade Bennett and some of the other speakers have said, the industrialization tendency, but the parasitic exploitation tendency of the countries which export capital. To miss this, *is to miss the fundamentally parasitic role of imperialism.* To hold the opposite theory, to hold the theory that the dominant tendency of imperialism is to develop modern production in the backward portions of the world, would lead objectively towards an underestimation of the oppressive reactionary role of imperialism, of the necessity of and the sharp explosive force of the struggle against it. *Carried to its logical conclusion, it leads objectively to an opportunist and even an unconscious apologetic line in the question of the role and character of imperialism.*

9. The contradiction between these two tendencies is one expression of the antagonism between metropolis and colony.

10. This antagonism together with the class struggle within the various countries, and together with the antagonism between the im-

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perialist powers and between them and the Soviet Union, will lead to the destruction of imperialism long before this ideally conceived industrialization of the world is completed or has progressed basically far. Only socialism will complete the task but on a new basis of division of labor and planned economy on a world scale. So much on "decolonization."

ROLE OF IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

I want to turn now to a particular sphere of "colonization" where the imperialism of the United States is *creating new colonies and semi-colonies*. I refer to Latin America. Certainly here also both tendencies are observable. But, again there can be no question as to which is dominant.

It is perfectly true that the United States, in certain countries of Latin America, has found it necessary to overthrow certain reactionary forces. But not because the U. S. is playing an essentially progressive role. The reason is a *historical* one; namely, that Great Britain got into those countries first; that Great Britain picked in advance the best natural allies for imperialism in those countries,—namely, the landowners and reactionary Catholic church.

When the United States came into the field to challenge Britain's privileged position, it was faced with the accomplished fact of the union between landowners and Catholic reactionaries with British imperialism, and in order to break ground for the forward march of the dollar it was necessary to further certain revolutionary forces in those countries. However, just as soon as Britain's puppet governments were overthrown, the United States tried to stem the tide of the revolutionary development which it had helped to set loose. On the contrary, where the United States is free to choose its allies, in those countries in Latin America where it can take its pick, it links up with the semi-feudal, Catholic land-owning reaction and all the most backward class forces in the country. Thus, for example, we find in a whole series of countries that the United States sets up a fascist dictatorship, that it sets up autocracies of the most brutal sort. I refer to such countries as Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili.

To turn to another field, we find this "progressive" American imperialism, so far as Liberia is concerned, attempting to go back to a system of chain-gang, chattel slavery.

Now a few general remarks on Latin America. First, the situation in Latin America presents us with a whole series of new forms of semi-colonies of various grades and kinds, most of them maintaining their formal independence while this formal independence

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comes to mean less and less as the power of the Unitd States grows greater and greater.

U. S. INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA

Secondly, American imperalism has invented or further developed many forms of intervention. We can distinguish the following:

1. Military intervention, primarily in Mexico and the Caribbean countries. In those countries we have witnessed no less than 30 interventions by military forces in a period of a quarter of a century.
2. Customs control. The Orient is not the only portion of the world where the customs of so-called sovereign countries are controlled by imperialism.
3. Direct fiscal control of bank appointees who are nominated by the President of the United States and formally approved by the puppet governments.
4. Military advisers.
5. (and most interesting) The financing of revolution and of reactionary dictatorships.

The third general observation I wish to make on Latin America is that the general progress of American domination is from north to south, from near to far, from the Canal to the Straits of Magellan. Of course, it is not a regular march; there are jumps in the picture. For example, a country may be overlooked for a moment, if in another country a little further off, oil is discovered. Certain countries were temporarily overlooked in order to make the jump into Chili for the copper and nitrates and other mineral wealth there. But the general march is north to south.

My fourth observation is that this march involves not only a struggle with the peoples of Latin America but also a struggle with British imperialism. A few figures to indicate the character of that struggle.

The United States has at the present time something like $5,200,000,000 invested in Latin America. If we add Canada we find that the United States has invested in the New World—so-called—something over eight billions, out of a total of 13 billions which is invested in the world as a whole, exclusive of the war debts.

To date the United States has invested in Latin America an amount almost equal to Great Britain. You can calculate both of them in round figures at about 5 billion dollars; but the interesting thing about this apparent equality is that before the war Great Britain already had 5 billion dollars invested in Latin America, and has today only $5,200,000,000, whereas the United States before the war had only $2,200,000,000 and has now equalled Great

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Britain. In other words, we find Great Britain's power in Latin America, as measured in economic terms, virtually stationary, whereas the Yankee dollar marches with giant strides.

The fifth point I want to underscore is the importance of Latin America in the scheme of economy of the United States, and also its importance in the coming war period. Take oil. Venezuela today, with its oil resources scarcely touched, is the second biggest producer of oil in the whole world; the first being the home territory of the United States. Mexico is the fourth, Colombia and Peru have scarcely been opened up and are rich in reserves of oil. North Argentine and a section of Bolivia also show oil deposits. Metals—every precious metal and every non-precious metal—are found in rich abundance and in forms easy to extract. Raw materials of importance in making munitions are potassium and nitrates. There is rubber and, of course, agricultural products.

REVOLUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Sixth, a word as to the revolutions in Latin America, as to their character and their content: The Latin-American revolutions belong to the bourgeois democratic revolutions. They represent a close fusion of revolutionary movements primarily agrarian, with the struggle against American imperialism. However, the basic driving force in these revolutions is not the bourgeoisie, but the workers and peasants. This explains the vague socialist aspirations which are continually being expressed in these revolutions. It also explains the socialist phraseology, the radical gestures of the petit-bourgeois governments that take advantage of these revolutionary forces for their own purposes. Socialism in some parts of Latin America is as fashionable today as it was in continental Europe before 1848. All of the various forms of socialism mentioned in the Communist Manifesto you will find in Latin America: petit-bourgeois socialism, feudal socialism, bourgeois socialism and utopian socialism along with the genuine proletarian socialism of the communist movements that are developing in these countries.

I give only one example. During the electoral campaign of Calles and Angel Flores for the Presidency of Mexico, Flores, who represented the landowning Catholic reaction with the support of British capital, posted all over the country a placard with his picture and the words, "I am a socialist and a revolutionary." You can imagine what revolutionary phrases the "socialist" Calles used if that was the character of the propaganda of the reaction.

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In this connection I quote a warning of Lenin's which applies to the Latin-American comrades. He said:

> **"It is necessary to carry on a determined struggle against any attempt to cover with a communist mantle the not truly communist revolutionary emancipation movement in backward countries."**

We have in Latin America, for example, such dangerous careerists as Haya de la Torre of Peru who came to Moscow, who attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern as a fraternal delegate, who came to the Third Congress of the Profintern as a regular delegate, and who has attempted to cover with the mantle of communism an essentially non-communist movement, and in this case, a dangerous careerist personalist movement.

Or, take the movement represented by Carlos Leon of Venezuela. I don't want to mention them in the same breath because Leon is not the unprincipled type of careerist that Haya de la Torre is but here also is a tendency to cover with the socialist mantle a movement that is not socialist in character although the proletariat may support it.

CLASS FORCES IN LATIN AMERICA

Seventh, a few additional remarks as to class forces in Latin America:

(a) We must not, in the first place, forget the great weakness of the national bourgeoisie in most of the Latin-American countries. All important industries, in most of these countries, are in the hands of foreign capital as are the banks, means of communication, etc. Thus in Mexico, in the field of petroleum, the investment of native Mexican capital comes ninth on the list and even Cuban capital has more money invested in Mexican petroleum than have native Mexicans, Cuba being eighth. This weakness of the native bourgeoisie helps to account for the greater role played by the petit-bourgeoisie in Latin-American revolutionary movements.

(b) We must note the peculiar character of certain sections of the Latin-American petty bourgeoisie. Intellectuals who are partially declassed, play an important role out of all proportion to their numbers in the movements of Latin America.

There are two basic reasons for the existence of discontent among the intelligentsia of Latin America. One is that foreign imperialism in general, and American imperialism in particular, tends to maintain autocratic governments in power for indefinite periods, until these degenerate into cliques of superannuated bureaucrats who leave no room for the young intellectuals turned out by the universities to find a career in the important sphere of government. This was one of the driving forces which made the students and the

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young intellectuals of Mexico virtually unanimous in their opposition to Diaz and his group after they had been in power for thirty years. A similar situation exists in countries like Venezuela, Peru, etc. Secondly, there is the tendency of American capitalist enterprise to employ as technicians, engineers, overseers, etc., Americans who are brought into the country especially for the purpose so that the only other field that might be open to intellectuals is thereby closed to them by imperialism. They have only one remaining field of activity, namely, opposition politics and anti-imperialist politics and into this they tend to enter. They represent, however, a dangerous force, combining with the usual vacillating characteristics of the petit-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, a peculiar susceptibility to both open and direct bribery, being readily satisfied by a "share" in the government—an opportunity to lay their hands on part of the national treasury, or with employment by American imperialist enterprises as technicians, fiscal agents, etc.

(c) The proletariat in the Latin-American countries, with the exception of the most developed of them, is extremely weak. This is a reflection of the weakness of industrial development in general. Also, even where there is a proletariat developing it is still lacking in experience, organization, technique and discipline, due to the newness of the proletariat as a class. It is closely linked up with the peasantry, often made up of only recently "deruralized" peasants. This has, on the one hand, the advantage of making easier the leading role of the proletariat over the peasantry, but on the other infiltrates the proletariat with peasant ideology, making popular a sort of "narodnikism."

THE LATIN-AMERICAN PEASANT

(d) As to the peasantry, it presents some peculiar features in many of the Latin-American countries which makes it necessary to distinguish sharply between it and the European peasantry. Errors have been made by comrades here, because the concept "peasant" has been taken too mechanically and too literally in a European sense in judging peculiar Latin-American problems. The peasant in many Latin-American countries is not a landowner of even the smallest parcel of land. Economically speaking one might say he is not a peasant at all; he is a former joint owner of communal lands or perhaps even of a small parcel of land on an individual basis, but the process of creating large estates, or dispossessing the peasant Indian communes from their communal possession of the soil; the process of enclosures, has removed him from the land, pauperized him and made him into an agrarian worker, or a rural pauper. However, he retains the tradition of having been possessor of land and the ambition of recovering the lands taken from him or his immediate forefathers. Oftentimes he does not even demand private property in land, regarding it with suspicion and aversion, but demands that the communal lands be restored to the entire village unit or tribal unit that formerly possessed them.

It is this which gives the Latin-American peasant in many countries his peculiar characteristics.

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(e) Next, there is the complication of race to be considered. There are whole sections of inland countries in Latin America where Spanish is not the language of the people, where there are still vast Indian tribes with strong survivals of tribal organization—often strong enough to be basic and decisive for the social character of their movements. These Indian tribles speak their own language, retain strong vestiges of primitive communism in their tradition and their economy and in some cases have a powerful tradition of former tribal glory. (Incas, Aztecs, Mayas, etc.) They view Europeans and even mixed white and Indian natives of the coastal and more industrialized regions of the country with suspicion and aversion and can rarely be led by those who cannot speak their own tribal tongue. The parties of Latin America in those countries where this state of affairs exists must work out a whole series of special measures to meet these problems, measures involving such matters as *self-determination for the indigenous races, special propaganda in their own languages, special efforts to win leading elements among them, special educational activities for those communists who are of Indian origin and who speak the Indian dialect, so that they can go back into the inner regions of the country and organize the indigenous elements.*

The history of the last generation in these Latin-American countries where compact indigenous tribes exist, especially where there are mountainous regions which have tended to protect this compactness and semi-independence, is characterized by a whole series of Indian uprisings, sometimes against foreign imperialist oppressors, sometimes against the landowners, sometimes against the native state bureaucracy—generally a fusion in different degrees of these three revolutionary movements. These uprisings constitute the greatest reserve of revolutionary energy that exists in Latin America, which reserve is only very imperfectly connected with the proletarian and agrarian peasant movements of the rest of the countries.

LACK OF PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

(f) Emphasis must be laid on the lack of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary traditions in Latin-American political life and the lack of such traditions and illusions among the masses. The weakness and oftentimes the virtual non-existence of the native bourgeoisie is of course the basic explanation of this. The petit-bourgeoisie makes up the state apparatus and often the officership of the armies. This state and army apparatus plays a large role in the life of Latin America and is one of the means of native exploitation of the indigenous and peasant masses of the various countries. A struggle for control of the treasury is quite literally an important force in the conflicts between the different so-called parties in Latin-American life. The "outs" are almost always ready to sell themselves to American imperialism if the British are tied up with the "ins" and vice versa.

(g) As to these rival imperialisms, the conflicts between them often result in liberating revolutionary forces in a country where

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they are about equally balanced. Neither of them is strong enough to run the country without utilizing some native elements. Each of them supports contrary elements and if one of them is tied up with the reaction, the other one often has to tie up with the progressive elements. The result is a continuous see-saw as manifested in Mexico since the discovery of oil there. We may look for a similar situation now in a country like Venezuela where oil has been discovered in large quantities and where British and American capital are in pretty even balance.

THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Eighth: A word on the Pan-American Federation of Labor. When the ancient Spanish conquerors wanted to win what is today Latin America it sent Jesuit missionaries to prepare the conquest ideologically. Today the masses of Latin America are too rebellious for religion to accomplish as much as once it did. A more "radical" ideological weapon is needed. This the American bankers and state department have found in the labor lieutenants of imperialism. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor, Green and Woll and their henchmen, Morones, Iglesias, Canuto Vargas, etc., with their Monroe Doctrine of Labor and their Pan-American Federation of Labor seek to paralyze the fighting will of the Latin-American masses, and pave the way for the new conquest of the continent. Comrade Martinez, a delegate to the Congress, did yeoman's work in exposing the imperialist role of these new missionaries. But the American and Latin-American parties must many times multiply this work and set up against it the closest union of the working-class organizations of Latin America with each other, with the left wing of the American labor movement and with the R. I. L. U.

THE QUESTION OF WORKER-PEASANT PARTIES

Ninth: I think the Congress must categorically reject the proposal for the founding of Workers' and Peasants' Parties in the Latin-American countries. Our primary task in Latin America is to establish Communist Parties, build them strong and make their line of demarcation clear. They must penetrate the mass movements of the workers and peasants, and lead these movements. Some comrades have been confused, particularly during the period of the forward march of the Kuomintang. It is one thing when we are faced with an already existing Kuomintang, and have to answer the question as to whether or not we shall work in it, another thing when we *create a Kuomintang* as an obstacle and a problem. Particularly in view of the weakness of the parties, the political backwardness of the masses, the lack of parliamentary tradition and the

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excessively big role played by the petit-bourgeois state bureaucracy and the petit-bourgeois professional politicians in Latin America, there is the danger that such elements will get control of the workers' and peasants' party. *The correct form for Latin America today is the worker-peasant bloc, with penetration and leadership by a steadily developing Communist Party.*

THE ARMING OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The tenth point concerning the arming of the workers and peasants: In the various struggles against imperialism and against internal reaction in the various countries, the workers and peasants must enter as a separate force. The Communist Party must make clear its own program at every stage, must criticize at every stage the elements with which at times it must cooperate; must struggle consistently for the hegemony of those movements. At the same time we must pay special attention to the *organizational form* that the struggle manifests. For example, when elements of a still revolutionary character seek the support of the peasants and workers of Latin America, we must put down as one of the minimum organizational conditions *the right of those workers and peasants to separate armed detachments under their own leadership, with their own program, and maintaining the status of guerilla forces in the general struggles that take place.*

This tactic has been applied with some success in Mexico, and as a result, whole sections of the peasantry are armed today, and, in spite of the repeated efforts to disarm them, they retain their arms. This tactic must be applied to the various Latin-American countries as revolutionary situations are produced.

A NEW WAVE OF STRUGGLE

The eleventh point: There is a new wave of resistance against American imperialism; a new development of revolutionary forces in the agrarian revolution, and all the phases of the revolutionary movement in Latin America. This is particularly marked in the post-war period. I mention only a few instances: the long struggles in Mexico, the revolutionary struggle in Ecuador, uprisings in Brazil, in Colombia, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Bolivia, in Paraguay, in Northern Argentina; the sharpening struggle in Chile, which has only temporarily been defeated by the establishment of a brutal military fascist dictatorship. And above all, the heroic resistance that has been manifested by such little countries as Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua and the other Central American countries to the aggression of the United States.

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A recent newspaper carries facts of stirrings in a new quarter. Costa Rica has been quiet for a while, but we find here in an issue of a Costa Rican paper of May 18, 1928, that a motion of interpellation to the Secretary of Foreign Relations as to why they are not recognizing the Soviet Union, and a demand that the United States blockade be broken in this respect, was carried by the Chamber of Deputies. Of course, that does not mean that the Chamber of Deputies has become revolutionary. It means that there are stirrings among the masses, or these petit-bourgeois politicians would never attempt to frame such a demand.

The outstanding example of the new strength of the resistance of Latin America to American imperialism is the struggle in Nicaragua. Never before has Nicaragua, or any of the small Central American countries, been able to put up so brave a resistance for so long a period. For a year and a half, in one form or another, the forces of national liberation in that diminutive country have been holding at bay the marines of the United States and carrying on, with more or less success, incredibly heroic guerilla warfare. Never before has such a struggle awakened so much echo in the rest of Latin America and gone so far towards unifying the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces for a common struggle.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LATIN AMERICA

In the face of the dominant power of American imperialism in the world today, Latin America assumes more importance than ever; in fact, it moves up to the first rank among the vital questions that concern the entire Communist International. The United States and the Soviet Union represent the two poles of the earth today. Leninism has taught us where to seek and find allies against our most powerful enemies. It teaches us now that the whole Comintern must turn its attention to this natural enemy of American imperialism, this natural ally of the proletariat of the world—the revolutionary movements of the Latin-American peoples.

At the Fifth Congress Latin America was represented by one Party and two League delegates for all of these numerous countries put together. The large representation at the Sixth Congress is an evidence that the Comintern has already turned its eyes in that direction and an evidence also of the rapid development of class relationships in Latin America. But the entire Comintern, and particularly the American section of the Comintern, must multiply by many times its attention and its aid to the Communist Parties and the revolutionary movements of Latin America.

This requires some elementary changes in the Comintern appar-

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atus. I cite only one. The Latin-American countries are still in the so-called Latin Secretariat. Why? Because our apparatus unfortunately is built on a basis of language, in place of common political problems. And therefore Latin America, Italy, Spain and France find themselves in a single Secretariat in which necessarily little or no attention can be paid to the special problems of Latin America. I think that some reorganization must come after this Congress in which common political problems become the basis of grouping, and not common language.

Finally, I want to say that as far as the question of "Latin-Americanism," which has been raised in some of the discussion here is concerned, we cannot slavishly accept the general proposals for Latin-American unity which are made by the petit-bourgeois intellectuals of Latin America. The proposal for a union of all the existing governments and countries as at present constituted in Latin America *is a fundamentally false and reactionary proposal,* because they include a whole series of puppet governments of American imperialism, and some governments which are still puppets of British imperialism.

We must raise the slogan of the union of the revolutionary forces, the workers' and peasants' movements of Latin America with the revolutionary workers of the United States; and we must add to that the slogan of the union of Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republics of Latin America for a common defense against American imperialism, and for a common federation in a Soviet Union.

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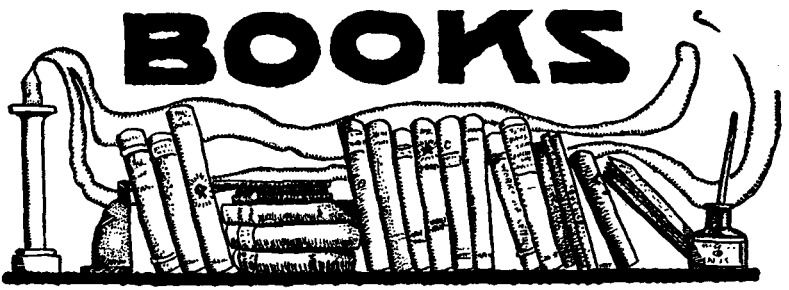

"A WAY OF ORDER FOR BITUMINOUS COAL." By WALTON H. HAMILTON and HELEN R. WRIGHT. The Macmillan Company.—$2.50.

THIS analysis of several possible "solutions" of the coal problem, including nearly all types of proposals short of revolution, deserves careful study by communist speakers and writers.

The private trust, aggressively breaking the union and preventing organization, ruthlessly speeding up and turning off workers, is shown up as offering no solution either for workers or for consumers. The possibilities of federal regulation, whith licensing of mines, price control, reorganization of freight rates, protection of workers' right to organize and the setting of standards for conditions of work, are explained more clearly and more keenly than they were in the report of the Federal Coal Commission in 1923. But unlike the commission, the authors reject as futile, attempts at government regulation of a privately owned coal industry. Both on private monopoly and on federal regulation they give definite, carefully reasoned criticism. Their general conclusions are quite unsatisfying but the concrete analysis is valuable and relevant to a Marxian argument.

Hamilton and Wright state sympathetically what a labor union could accomplish for the miners provided they were completely organized and "for the time being at least" accepted collective bargaining and "the general arrangements of the competitive system." The discussion is academic. It makes no reference to the corrupt leadership in the U.M.W.A. beyond such veiled statements as these:

> "A second assumption is that the union which would hold sway over coal would be a union with no more limitations than are inherent in an organization of workers in which leaders are elected by popular ballot. In specific terms, this means that the union which would draw up the program would not be quite like the United Mine Workers of today. . . It is inconceivable that this (non-union) flank (in the coal industry) could be removed and the United Mine Workers remain unchanged."

And the difficult problems of organizing the unorganized are disposed of in a footnote thus:

> "The program does not include the elimination of spies and guards and the maintenance of civil liberties, as the objectionable practices here are all part of the game of keeping the union out. They are unthinkable were the union to extend over the industry."

In fairness it should be stated, however, that the authors had described the outrages in non-union coal fields in their earlier book, *The Case of Bituminous Coal.*

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The possible changes which they believe a militant union of all miners could enforce are realistic: Equalization upwards of wage scales; a six-hour day; unemployment insurance; better living conditions in company towns. For the "surplus" miners—variously estimated as numbering from 200,000 up to perhaps twice that number—the strong union could insist, (1) that no new workers shall be taken into the industry; and (2) that no company shall introduce increased mechanization exept as it can so adjust production as to continue employing all miners now on its payroll. The importing of strike-breakers and the opening up of new mines with fresh workers brought in from the farms are both stressed as unfair. But the authors leave entirely unsolved the problems of young workers growing up in mining centers with no other industry to which they can turn; of miners employed by companies that fail and go out of business; and the immediate and most pressing problem of the thousands of able-bodied, experienced miners who have already been frozen out and cannot find work in other occupations. In fact the authors show no strong concern over the steady increase of unempolyment due to greater productivity which affects all industries and has already created an acute situation for miners.

The book betrays throughout the cheerful vacillations of liberal writers. They feel themselves superior to crusaders, whom they regard as blind to the need of study. "Analysis robs crusading of its spirit of adventure." But to these students, cheerful and witty, the plight of the bituminous coal consumers, which are chiefly railroads, public utilities, steel mills and other corporations, the waste of inefficiently managed mines, and uncertainties of return on investment seem scarcely less important than the problems of half a million mine workers and their families.

The writers really warm up to enthusiasm only over their own "way of order" which is modified from a proposal drafted by the liberal economist, Henry Clay, for the British coal industry. It is an ingenious plan for a federal coal corporation which would buy all coal properties and place the industry under consumer-worker-technician management and control. But, as the authors themselves admit, the plan tries to straighten out the coal industry, both as to methods of production and relations between management and men, while other industries (including the chief coal-consuming corporations) go along their profiteering, labor-baiting way, unchanged. And what the authors fail to see is that the industry according to this plan would be under the control of a capitalist government, itself in turn controlled by the big corporations and banks.

The authors also do not point out the very obvious fact that until the miners are organized, with honest militant leaders, such a reorganized coal industry would merely sanctify in a nominally "socialized" form the worst features of company unionism. As a matter of fact, of course, the actual trend of events is moving steadily toward consolidation of private coal interests, and not toward any form of nationalization. Every day brings a further breakdown of the old union and fresh insolence from strong coal companies. Injunctions against ordinary strike actitvities grow more brazen. More mines are mechanized. The gap widens between the demand for coal and the capacity of the mines. Fewer miners, whether union or non-union, will find employment. The need for a vigorous union, 100 per cent strong, grows every day more and more urgent. For the miners, the building up of such a union must precede any demand for reorganizing of the industry.

Whether even a strong union should attempt to secure any form of nation-

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alization for single industries, in the midst of an aggressively anti-union society, ruled by private finance, is open to serious question.

Meanwhile, this analysis of problems and possibilities can serve to stiffen the campaign of organization. And the cheerful lightness with which these liberal writers discuss the tragedy of unemployed miners and their families will turn the revolutionady reader to a still more determined seriousness.

ANNA ROCHESTER.

"ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES" by Harold Underwood Faulkner, Macmillan, 300 pages, $1.50

This book is one of the "World Today Bookshelf" series (formerly "Workers Bookshelf"). The series is published by arrangement between the Workers Education Bureau and Macmillan, under the general editorship of Charles A. Beard. The present volume seems to bear some of the impress of Beard's tutelage, as if Faulkner were a Beard disciple.

It makes a fair companion work to Mary Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Movement." It is also short, despite its 300 pages, for they are small, loosely printed and in large type.

The viewpoint is that of critical liberalism throughout. The book suffers from superficiality (not all due to lack of space) and from eclectic timidity; yet there are passages of more than usual "courage" as courage is measured in college professors. Thus Nearing and Freeman's "Dollar Diplomacy" is recommended as "the only adequate study of American imperialism yet written" and this book is even quoted on some innocent matters that don't matter. But this doesn't hinder the author from recommending books with a directly contrary viewpoint in the same bibliography without noting the conflict.

Faulkner brings his book up-to-date with a consideration of "post-war problems," more superficial even than the rest of the book. There is a thoroughly "up-to-date" paragraph on "Capitalistic Labor," in which the professor is moved to doubt whether an "economic revolution" a la Carver is really taking place. Yet the next paragraph informs us that "political democracy, universal education and economic expansion . . . are a triple stream which bids fair to break forth into a new channel of social democracy." The optimism of the liberal is only matched by his lack of understanding of what is going on around him!

All in all, it is only the lack of an adequate short text-book on the economic history of the United States that gives this superficial and eclectic work the right to be noticed in the columns of *The Communist*.

B. D. W.

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SELF-STUDY CORNER

Owing to lack of space, the Self-Study Corner series on Leninism and War was crowded out of the current issue.

We take this opportunity to ask those of our readers who have been following the Self-Study Corner to write in to the magazine their opinions on the same. We want to know how many of our readers find the Self-Study Corner of value, what suggestions they can make for the improvement of the corner, and making it more useful to them and, we would like our readers to make suggestions as to what should form the subject matter of the next Self-Study Corner.

If you want the Self-Study Corner to be continued, do not fail to write in to the editor of the magazine.

The next issue will deal with the Fourth Lesson, "The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Question of Revolutionary War." —Editor.

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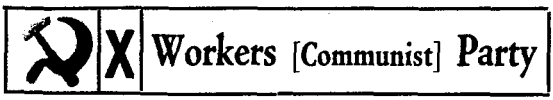

For the Party of the Class Struggle!
For the Workers!

Against the Capitalists!

[655]

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, Of THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1928

State of New York

County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Beatrice Carlin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Communist*, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Workers (Communist) Party of America, 43 East 125th Street.
Editor, Betram D. Wolfe, 43 East 125th Street.
Managing editor, none.
Business Manager, Beatrice Carlin, 43 East 125th Street.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. It not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concerns, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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BEATRICE CARLIN
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1928.
My Commission expires March 30, 1930. J. Wesley Lyon, *Notary Public.*

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Every Communist Voter— a reader of the Daily Worker

IN THE present Election Campaign the Daily Worker supports the candidacy of Wm. Z. Foster for President, and Benjamin Gitlow for Vice-President as the representatives of the only revolutionary working-class party in the United States—the WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY—the only party that will put an end to this system of exploitation. A vote for these standard bearers of communism is a nail in the coffin of capitalism.

The Daily Worker has become known in every nook and corner of the United States where workers are engaged in struggle to better their conditions. The Daily Worker serves as a beacon light to the miners of Western Pennsylvania and the Textile Workers of New Bedford and Fall River who are engaged in a struggle against the coal and textile barons, and against the labor misleaders and for the building of new unions in these industries.

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